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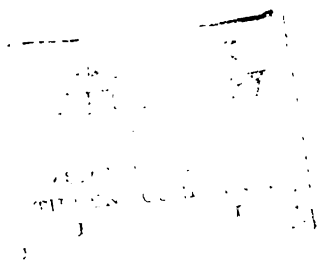
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WELLINGTON AND ANGLESEA IN HYDE PARK, FROM A RECENT SKETCH.

1 In

L. V. James

THE

1857

MILITARY AND POLITICAL LIFE

Army R. D. Smith

OF

1849

ARTHUR WELLESLEY,



DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

BY A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

WITH NUMEROUS ORIGINAL AND AUTHENTIC ENGRAVINGS.

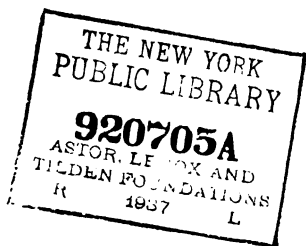
"He was not for an age, but for all time."

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WELLINGTONIANA;
ANECDOTES, MAXIMS, OPINIONS, AND CHARACTERISTICS
OF
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

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LIFE OF
ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH—EDUCATION—EARLY CAREER.

IT is certainly a singular fact, that the time and place of birth of the greatest man of modern times, who has suddenly been called away from among us—Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington—should be obscured by either doubt or mystery. The popular belief has always been, and almanacs have so recorded it, that the great Duke was born at Dangan Castle, in the county of Meath, on May 1st, 1769. This belief seems to be confirmed by the circumstance that the Duke stood sponsor to the last royal prince, Prince Arthur, chiefly, as was alleged, because the prince having been born on May 1st was born on the birthday of the Duke. On the other hand, there is an entry in the registry of St. Peter's parish, in Dublin, to the effect that Arthur, son of the Right Honourable Earl and Countess of Mornington, was baptised on April 30th, 1769. This is duly attested by "Isaac Mann, Archdeacon." At that time, the town house of the Earl of Mornington was situated in Merrion Square, Dublin, and Dangan Castle is about twenty-five miles from that city. If the authenticity of the register is to be admitted—and for want of anything like adequate testimony on the other side, this must be done—the reasonable

conclusion is, that the Duke was born in Dublin, in the end of the month of April, 1769.* During the same year, the island of Corsica, after a siege of two years, was captured by the

* To illustrate the thorough maze of contradiction and confusion in which the birth-day and birth-place of the Duke are involved, we subjoin the following documents, taken from the newspapers after the Duke's death.

"A Mr. Ryan, of Dublin, has suggested a piece of evidence not previously noticed, tending to deprive Dublin of the honour of being the birth-place of the Duke of Wellington. Mr. Ryan says—A petition was presented towards the close of the year 1790, to the Irish House of Commons, which prayed that the return of the Hon. Arthur Wellesley for the borough of Trim should be deemed null and void, that hon. gentleman not having attained his majority before his election for the borough referred to. Same was, in the usual way, referred to a committee, before which the following testimony was given by a female of the name of Daly (if my memory, from reading the reports, serves), who was produced to negative the averment on which the petition was founded:—'I remember having attended the Countess of Mornington during her accouchement in March, 1769, and was present in her ladyship's room in Dangan Castle when the Hon. Arthur Wellesley was born; I do not remember the day of the month; he was, therefore, twenty-one years old last March.' This, I fancy, is conclusive on this question; and any one sceptical upon the subject may satisfy themselves by a reference to the report of the minutes of the proceedings of the Trim Election Petition, 1790-91."

Another newspaper correspondent communicates the following letter from the Duke's mother, which if an authentic document sets the matter at rest.—"London, Henrietta-street, Cavendish square, April 6, 1815.—Sir,—In answer to your inquiry respecting my son, the Duke of Wellington, I inform you that he was born on the 1st of May, 1769. I am much flattered by your intention of celebrating his birth-day: the good wishes and prayers of worthy respectable persons I trust will continue to my son the good fortune and success that it has hitherto pleased the Almighty to grant him in the service of his King and country. I happened yesterday to meet with a very striking likeness of the Duke, which you will do me a favour by accepting of from your very humble servant, ANNE MORNINGTON."

Which then are we to believe, the registrar, the nurse, or the mother? Most certainly the last, provided the above letter is authentic, of which *prima facie* there appear to be some doubts. The Duke

French, and in the capital city of that island, before the year 1769 closed, another boy—Napoleon Buonaparte—was born into the world, whose career was to run so long in opposition to that of the young Wellesley. On the future conduct of these boys were the destinies of Europe to hang.

Though thus an Irishman by birth, yet by descent Arthur Wellesley was thoroughly English. His ancestors could be traced back, if not to the time of the Conqueror, yet to the reigns immediately succeeding. It does not appear that he came of Norman stock, for one branch of the family came from the county of Rutland, where they bore the name of Cowley, or Colley, in the thirteenth century, and after settling in Ireland, held high and lucrative offices both in Church and State. On the other side, the family was descended from an old Saxon house, long established under the name of Wesley, Wellesley, or Wellesleigh, in the county of Somerset. The town of Wellington, in that county, which gave the Duke his various titles of Lord, Marquis, and Duke, is supposed by some to stand on what was once the estate of this family, and that it is, in fact, a corruption of the name Wellesleigh, the Saxon *leigh*, indicating a lea, being easily transposed into *ton* or *town* when population increased. Be this, however, as it may, a certain member of this house of Wellesley, or Wesley, accompanied Henry II. to Ireland, in the year 1172, as his standard-bearer; and when Henry became possessed of that country, his standard-bearer was rewarded with large estates in the counties of Kildare and Meath. The family of the Wellesleys took a prominent part in the political and military affairs of the succeeding six centuries, and appear to have held their own through all the wars and convulsions that unhappy Ireland underwent during that long and stormy time.

himself was utterly indifferent on the subject, and perhaps rather than discuss the matter further, the wisest course is to adopt the logical rule of the old Jesuit—"Arthur Wellesley was to be born; and Arthur Wellesley was born."

In the year 1728, the two families, the Cowleys of Rutland, and the Wellesleys of Somerset, came into alliance with each other. About that time Elizabeth Cowley, or Colley, married Garret Westley, or Wellesley, of Dangan, in the county of Meath. On this estate of Dangan stood, at that time, an old castle of the same name, about three miles from the town of Trim, the county town of Meath. This castle had been a place of great strength in former days, and there can be no doubt, that though the great Duke was not born there, he passed within its walls many of his years of childhood. After the death of his father, it was leased, curiously enough, to the father of Feargus O'Connor, who at one time was perhaps as striking a representative of physical force *without* law, as the Duke was of physical force *with* law. During this tenancy, however, the castle was greatly injured by fire, and now "all silent and sad is that roofless abode" which echoed to the infant prattle of the greatest captain of the age.

To return : it does not appear that any children were born, or if born, did not survive, to Garret and Elizabeth Wesley; and as Henry Colley, Elizabeth's brother, had a large family of sons and daughters, one of them, Richard by name, was adopted by the childless Wesleys as their heir, on condition that he should assume the name and arms of the family, which was accordingly done, and Richard Colley, a youngest son, "heir to his presence and no land beside," became Richard Colley Wesley, heir to the estate of Dangan, that had been in the family since the days of Henry II. and Earl Strongbow. At the time this took place, it is related, in a rather ambiguous way by Dr. Southey, that Garret wished to adopt as his heir Charles Wesley, a young man whose expenses at Westminster School he had for some time paid, but that this Charles, feeling that his mission did not lie in being the landlord of an Irish estate, declined the offer, and in conjunction with his brother John, in the year 1730, two years after the adoption of Richard Colley, founded a new religious sect, which now bears their name, and embraces a considerable

portion of the wealth, piety, and population of the country. Richard Colley Wellesley (for here we shall drop all the old names) had a very successful career. He was auditor and registrar to the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham; he sat as a member in the Irish parliament for several years, and in the year 1747 was created a peer, with the title of Baron Mornington. He was succeeded by his son Garret, named after the worthy man who had adopted Richard Colley. This Baron Mornington advanced to still higher dignities than his father, and became in succession Viscount Wellesley and Earl of Mornington. He was a man not adapted for either political or military strife; he loved retirement and the quiet pleasures of home, and devoted himself so ardently and so successfully to the study of music, that his name is still remembered with respect and affection by the singers and lovers of madrigals and glees. From such a man it was little to be expected that there should spring the governor-general of a vast Indian empire, and the conqueror of "the Conqueror of Europe." He married, in 1759, the eldest daughter of Lord Dungannon, and by her he had the following children:—

1. Richard, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, who died 1842.
2. Arthur Gerald; died in infancy.
3. William Wellesley Pole, who succeeded Richard as Earl of Mornington, in 1842, and died 1845.
4. ARTHUR, DUKE OF WELLINGTON, died 1852.
5. Gerald Valerian, D.D., who died a Prebendary of Durham, in 1848.
6. Henry, Lord Cowley, who died 1847.
7. Frances Seymour; died young.
8. Annie; died 1844.
9. Mary Elizabeth; died young.

The Earl of Mornington died in May, 1781, when his fourth son, Arthur, was only twelve years of age, and his sorrowful widow was left with a large family and an encumbered estate. Few people would then have coveted the position of this

bereaved widow, to whom the future looked blank and desolate enough. The young Earl and his brother Arthur were sent to school at Eton, where Arthur certainly did not distinguish himself. He seems to have been rather a slow taciturn boy, with whose temperament classical studies did not altogether harmonise. Not so with his brother Richard, who developed talents such as very soon induced his removal to Oxford, while Arthur, having indicated some desire to be a soldier, was sent to study at the Military College of Angers, in France.

The fact that Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, had to seek a knowledge of that art of which he became the greatest master, at a college in France, is a very significant indication of the practice and knowledge of the military art in England at the time. In England war had never been studied as a science, and English soldiers had seldom been trained on a plan. Wherever they had conquered on the continent, it had been more owing to the stubborn English hardihood, and often religious enthusiasm of the men, than to the skill of the generals. The people of England long hated the idea of a standing army, and it was only the troubled days of the reign of the Stuarts and the wars that interrupted the peace of the House of Hanover, that called a standing army into existence at all. But on the continent it was different. The kings there had usually been generals, with immense standing armies at their command, and under Peter the Great, Gustavus Adolphus, Louis XIV., and Frederic of Prussia, war had become an art whose principles must be studied in the closet before they could be practised in the field. To the study of this art France in particular was devoted, and her military academies were numerous and admirably managed. That at Angers was then conducted by Pignerol, a distinguished engineer of the period. This town, in the department of Maine and Loire, situated about half-way between Tours and Nantes, could not fail to be full of interest to the young Arthur Wellesley. The site of the town is as old as the days of the Romans; the walls that once surrounded it

were built by King John of England, and the town has been rendered immortal as the scene of one of Shakspeare's plays, as well as the scene of the military studies of the Duke of Wellington.* Here Arthur Wellesley remained until his eighteenth year, when he obtained a commission as Ensign in the 73rd regiment. Nine months after, he was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 76th, and after passing rapidly through the 41st regiment, the 12th Light Dragoons, and the 58th foot, he was appointed, on the 31st October, 1792, to the command of a troop in the 18th Light Dragoons. While thus rapidly advancing in his profession, he was also coming into notice as a legislator. In 1790, just when he had attained his majority, a general election took place in Ireland, and the Hon. Mr. Wellesley was returned, evidently without a contest, as one of the members to the Irish parliament, for the family borough of Trim. At that period Trim had two representatives in the Irish parliament, but it was disfranchised at the Union in 1800. He was undoubtedly the last surviving member of any name who once had a seat in the Parliament of Ireland. He did not speak often in the House, but when he did, we are told that it was "always to the purpose." His earliest reported speech was delivered in the session of 1793, on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, and his remarks are stated by a gentleman who heard him to have been "terse and pertinent, his delivery fluent, and his manner unembarrassed." From the fragmentary report that has come down to us, this speech would appear to have been a violent attack on the French people for "their conduct to their king, and their invasion of the territories of sovereign princes, and their irruption into the Austrian Netherlands." The passage relating to Catholic claims is worthy of notice as being the first statement of the Duke's opinion on that question which he afterwards so powerfully assisted to set at rest: "He had no doubt of the loyalty of the Catholics of this country, and he trusted that when the

* See Shakspeare's play of King John.

question should be brought forward respecting that description of men, we would lay aside all animosities, and act with moderation and dignity, and not with the fury and violence of partisans."

During his residence in Dublin, Arthur Wellesley was attached to the household of the Earl of Westmoreland, then Lord-Lieutenant, as aide-de-camp. His private income and his pay as an officer could ill afford to support him in this position ; and the consequence was, he became embarrassed in his circumstances. He lived at the time in the house of Mr. Dillon, a worthy and wealthy bootmaker, who, becoming accidentally acquainted with Mr. Wellesley's position, proffered him a loan of some money. This was accepted ; but so scrupulous was the young soldier, that when called upon active service, he placed his pecuniary affairs in the hands of Mr. Dillon ; and in time repaid the loan, discharged all his debts, and was the faithful friend through life of his early benefactor. .

Hitherto the subject of our narrative had not been engaged in active military service. But the time had come when he must draw the sword and take the field. To understand for what cause and in whose quarrel he then fought, it is necessary that we should give a sketch of the political aspect of affairs at that time.

At home the excitement attendant on the war with America had subsided, and the United States, that about ten years before had asserted their independence, were in peaceable enjoyment of it. Five years before all chance of danger from another Stuart rising had completely disappeared in the death at Rome of Charles Edward Stuart. In the same year, that is 1788, the King, George III., had shown symptoms of derangement, but had speedily recovered. But the blow struck by America had roused the people of France ; they had in their own words "risen against tyrants ;" and eleven days after Arthur Wellesley had denounced the conduct of the French people towards their king, that conduct had reached a point with only one parallel in our annals, and the head of

the unfortunate Louis XVI. had been struck off in Paris. The young energy of the democracy of France had alarmed all the crowned heads of Europe. An attempt to invade France had been made and repelled, and half a million of soldiers, intoxicated with liberty and dreams of freedom, were crossing the Rhine and passing the Alps to propagate the principles of democracy in every state of Europe. This wild torrent had to be stemmed, and Arthur Wellesley, now Lieutenant-Colonel of the 33rd regiment, was selected with others for the work.

It was at first doubtful on what part of France an English descent should be made, but the alarming progress of the French armies in Belgium determined the destination of the British forces, and the first campaign of Arthur Wellesley was fought in the Netherlands. But it was a most disastrous business from first to last. Before the young enthusiasm of the Republican forces both English and German troops had to give way ; post after post was evacuated, and in the retreat the soldiers suffered privations that would be thought unendurable if the dreadful scenes of the retreat from Moscow were not on record. This campaign lasted about six months, and that period was one of almost incessant fighting. In many of the actions Colonel Wellesley had a share, and gallantly distinguished himself. During part of the retreat he commanded the rear-guard, in which responsible post he displayed that firmness, intrepidity, and presence of mind which always characterised him. His first campaign was full of adversity, but at the same time full of instruction. Nor is it to be supposed that that instruction passed away at the time, but it was undoubtedly treasured up to guide and direct the young soldier's future career.

It is worthy of note that during the same year that Colonel Wellesley was gathering this dear-bought experience in the Netherlands, Napoleon Buonaparte was distinguishing himself as an officer of artillery at Toulon. One was suffering his first defeat near that field where he was to gain his last and

greatest victory, and the other was gaining his first success near that island (Elba) to which he was doomed to be sent as an exile.

Colonel Wellesley returned to England in 1795, with the 33rd regiment, which, though sadly cut up by the campaign in the Netherlands, was soon restored to an effective state by the exertions of its active colonel. An expedition was at that time projected against some place in the West Indies—with what object does not clearly appear from the records of the time—and Colonel Wellesley was ordered to join it under Admiral Christian. The expedition put to sea, but the weather became so boisterous, and the fleet suffered so severely in consequence, that the admiral put back, after having been six weeks at sea. In the meantime, the plans of the government were changed, and the 33rd regiment was ordered to India. Colonel Wellesley was prevented by severe illness from accompanying it, but he recovered in time to enable him to join the regiment at the Cape of Good Hope.



DANGAN CASTLE.

CHAPTER II.

INDIAN CAMPAIGNS.

OUR empire in India was at that time in a very precarious condition. At present, with the exception of some of the states in the North and West, all the native princes are either tributary or friendly to us. Nearly one half of this great peninsula is under our rule, and what is of very great importance, there are no other European settlers of sufficient strength to intrigue against us, and to assist the native powers. But fifty years ago, the state of affairs was very different. The brilliant victories of Lord Clive, and the administration of Warren Hastings had given us possession of a comparatively small portion of the Indian peninsula. Indeed, it may be said, that we *occupied*, without possessing, a very considerable portion of territory on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. The wars at home, the aggressions of France, the loss of our colonies in America, had weakened the prestige of the British name, and rendered it an easy matter for the emissaries of France to excite the native princes of India to war against us. It is true, the French power in the country may be said to have been destroyed when Pondicherry, their chief settlement, was taken. But large numbers of French officers, men of skill, experience, and bravery, were by that very success of our arms scattered over the country, and they very naturally offered their services to the native powers, and were not slow in implanting among them a hatred of the British name. They could point to a long list of defeats sustained by the British in America, could tell how the British troops had been driven out of the Netherlands by the arms of Republican

France, and thus most effectually weaken the dread that our arms and victories had awakened. This French element in Indian warfare seems to have existed even in recent years, for we are told that in the battles fought on the Sutlej, the Sikhs would not have resisted so manfully and well had not many of their officers been Frenchmen. Nor were the abilities and resources of the native princes at the time to be for a moment despised. They were not, like many of their successors, wholly given up to pleasure, and utterly devoid of ambition, but on the contrary, they were powerful in intellect, fertile in resources, daring, ambitious, and unscrupulous. They possessed armies well drilled and full of native valour, and though they wanted the cool firmness, acquired by discipline, of the troops of Europe, yet they often compensated this defect by their headlong dashing bravery. As rulers these princes were purely arbitrary; their will was law, and it was easy to persuade them, that between them and their desires the British ought to be an obstacle of as little consequence as the desires and feelings of the subjects over whom they held absolute sway.

All along the borders of our territories we were then menaced by these native chiefs. The powerful and warlike Mahratta chiefs held their court at Poonah, not far from Bombay, and the territory of Mysore, near Madras, was then governed by a usurper in whom the wisdom of the serpent seemed to be combined, not with the innocence of the dove, but the savage cruelty of the tiger. This man was Tippoo Saib. His father, Hyder Ali, a man of obscure birth, had overthrown the dynasty of Mysore and seized on the reins of government; he was for a long time the terror of the British; he and his troops overran the Carnatic, driving before them the British forces: but after a few years of success, the tiger of Mysore was subdued by the British under Sir Eyre Coote. This Tippoo Saib was Hyder's son. The Mysore territory, over which he ruled, is a very extensive tract of table-land in the south of Hindostan,

separated from the sea on both sides by the Ghaut range of mountains. The possessions of the Mahrattas adjoin it on the north-west, and it is not far from the French settlements of Pondicherry and Cairacou, the Portuguese of Goa and the Danish of Tranquebar. The ancient capital was Mysore, but Hyder removed the seat of government to Seringapatam, where his son built an immense fortress, which he was foolish enough to consider impregnable.

The character of Tippoo Saib requires a powerful effort of the mind to comprehend. His personal appearance was striking; short in stature, but with broad shoulders, a full chest, muscular limbs, and a large well-formed head, with features that for ever wore an expression of calm relentless cruelty. He had the body of a man but the spirit of a tiger and the varied cruelty of a savage. Indeed, he himself once said that he would rather live two years like a tiger than two hundred like a lamb. He was bound by no regard to truth or justice, and obeyed no law but his own will. His father, Hyder Ali, was a similar barbarian, and had implanted in the mind of Tippoo not only the most intense hatred of the English, but a fixed and steady desire to exterminate them from India. For many years he had carried on an almost unceasing war against the English power with varied success. A treaty had been entered into with him in 1792, and two of his sons were given to the English as hostages for its due fulfilment. In 1794 his sons were restored and he commenced again to intrigue against the British power. There was every reason to believe that Tippoo, while professing friendship with the British, was in correspondence with the French Directory, and that the aim of that body was to strike a terrible blow at England, by assailing her Indian territory. Subsequent events showed that this belief was well founded.

In this perilous situation of Indian affairs, Colonel Wellesley arrived with the 33rd regiment at Calcutta, in February, 1797. The Governor-General of India at that time was Sir John

Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth ; but he was soon superseded by the Earl of Mornington, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, and elder brother of Colonel Wellesley. He arrived in 1798. During the first two years of Colonel Wellesley's sojourn in India, he was engaged in no active operations ; his troops were chiefly in garrisons, for though it was evident that war was fast approaching, affairs wore an outward aspect of peace. An expedition to Manilla was planned during that period, and Colonel Wellesley was to have accompanied it, but the intention was never carried into effect. Soon after his brother the Governor-General arrived, the evidence of the treachery of Tippoo became so clear that war against him was determined on. The 33rd regiment, with Colonel Wellesley, were accordingly sent to Madras, and thither also the Governor repaired, to be as near the seat of war as possible. The army of Tippoo was supposed to number about 76,000 effective men, while to oppose these, the British had about 50,000 men under arms, of whom about one-fourth were British soldiers. All these troops had (we quote the Wellington despatches) "in the November of the preceding year (1798) been assembled and encamped at Wallajahbad, under the orders of Colonel Wellesley, with whom the general superintendence remained until February following, when General Harris arrived to assume the personal command of the army, which had proceeded to Vellore. The attention which Colonel Wellesley had bestowed on the discipline and well-being of the troops, and in practising them in combined field movements, with the admirable system he adopted for supplying the bazaars, which were kept constantly well provided, attracted general notice and approbation ; and when General Harris joined the army to take command, after receiving the reports of the heads of corps and departments, he was so pleased with all Colonel Wellesley's arrangements, that he conceived it to be an imperative duty to publish a general order conveying commendation of the merits of Colonel Wellesley during his temporary command."

In February, 1799, the army crossed the frontier and entered the Mysore territory. A letter sent to Tippoo, dated 22nd February of that year, by the Governor-General, informed him that General Harris was authorised to concert "a new treaty of friendship with your Highness, founded on such conditions as appear to the allies indispensably necessary to the establishment of a secure and permanent peace," and the tyrant of Mysore afterwards complained of the invasion of his territory being a breach of faith, as this letter was written in the most friendly spirit.

But Tippoo was not a man to sit still when there was work to be done. He had allowed the British troops to march unmolested for several weeks, until they were near Seringapatam, when he suddenly appeared to bar their further progress with all the effective force he could muster. He attacked the British on the 6th March, but was repulsed with considerable loss. Three weeks afterwards the armies came again into collision, and in this engagement Colonel Wellesley and his regiment were opposed to the favourite troops of Tippoo. This regiment or "cushoon," as in Eastern phrase it is named, attacked Wellesley's troop with great bravery, until the latter charged with the bayonet. Tippoo's regiment, though three times the number of Wellesley's, could not withstand the charge; they turned and fled, and the cavalry coming up at the time, almost cut them to pieces. In this engagement the loss of the British was only seven men killed and fifty-three wounded.

Tippoo retreated, burning the villages in his way and endeavouring to harass and annoy the British as much as he could; but he was singularly unsuccessful. The British troops advanced by a road different from what Tippoo supposed; they had plenty of provisions, and so rapid were their movements that on the 1st April they were within twelve miles of Seringapatam, and on the following day they were within sight of the town. In a few days, the arrangements for attacking it were made, and on a dark night the troops under Colonel

Wellesley were ordered to attack and carry some of the out-works. In this, however, our great captain was not successful; he was wounded in the knee by a spent ball, and after wandering for several hours in the dark he reached the camp, where, in a state of great agitation, he reported his want of success. This is what is called Wellington's failure, and he has been severely criticised upon it. For aught we know he may deserve all the sharp things said against him about it, but it argues an awful scarcity of failures on the part of our hero, when one of his first actions, on which, even if successful, no results of consequence depended, and which was carried on in the dark, in an obscure town of an obscure district in a far-off country, is to be invariably produced as his crowning failure.

But if Colonel Wellesley lost any honour at night, he found it again in the morning; for next day he charged the enemy and obliged them to abandon all their defences.

Tippoo, who remained in his castle, now began to tremble for his authority, and with an assumption of injured innocence he addressed General Harris, enclosing a copy of the letter of the Governor-General already referred to, and demanding to know "the meaning of the advance of the English armies and the occurrence of hostilities;" to which Harris replied, by referring back Tippoo to his correspondence with the Governor-General. Further attacks on the defences of the town, some of them conducted by Colonel Wellesley, having proved successful, Tippoo became more and more alarmed, and wrote to General Harris in such terms as to induce him to offer certain conditions as the basis of a treaty. Among these, was one that the French should, within forty-eight hours, be sent to the British camp; and another, that Tippoo should give up half his dominions, the British having power to choose any half they pleased. To these proposals he returned no answer for six days, when he wished to gain time by offers of negotiation. These were not listened to, and on the 3rd

May it was decided to storm the town, and Major-General Baird volunteered to lead the storming party.

This Major-General Baird was a brave and gallant Scotchman who afterwards distinguished himself greatly all through the Peninsular war, and who died only a few years ago at his family seat in Scotland. He had good cause to hate Seringapatam and its ruler, for three years previously he had been confined in a loathsome dungeon, and there chained to a private soldier, a fellow-prisoner. It is said that Baird was of a most hasty ungovernable temper, which made him when a boy a continual source of quarrels and disturbances in his father's house. So permanent was the impression left by his bad temper, that when his mother was informed that her son David was a prisoner in the East Indies chained to a soldier, instead of expressing regret for or sympathy with the sufferings of her child, her thoughts turned to the vexation his companion in misery would have to suffer from Baird's bad temper, and she exclaimed, "God pity the poor lad who is chained to our Davie." "Our Davie" however was as brave as he was ill-tempered, and he led on the attack with alacrity and success, and by two o'clock Seringapatam was taken.

Seated in the recesses of his palace, Tippoo could not believe that all was lost. He rode out unattended, and by an extraordinary fatality, into the very centre of the fighting; here his diamond studded head-dress betrayed who he was, and he was soon dispatched by some British soldiers. Ere the sun went down the tyrant of Mysore was dead, his capital taken, and the whole country at the disposal of the British. Though not first in command, yet Colonel Wellesley and his regiment gained great honour in the engagement and greatly contributed to the success of that well-fought day.

The fall of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo Saib, on the 4th May, 1799, were events of great importance at the time, as a little consideration of contemporary events will

show. Exactly a year before, Napoleon Buonaparte, with a very large French force, had sailed to invade Egypt; this force consisted of thirteen ships of the line, six frigates, and a number of brigs, sloops, and cutters. One of these ships of the line, *L'Orient*, afterwards destroyed at the battle of the Nile, carried 120 guns, and three others carried 80 guns each; besides these there were about 100 transports, and the number of troops on board was about 28,000 men. The whole was commanded by that young soldier of fortune, now about thirty years of age, who had crossed the Alps, conquered Italy, and gained an imperishable name at Lodi and Arcola, and who now led on his legions to Egypt with the prestige of invincibility. The object of this expedition, we are told by Montholon, was threefold:—

“First, to establish a French colony on the Nile, which would prosper without slaves, and serve France instead of the republic of St. Domingo, and of all the sugar-islands. 2ndly, to open a market for our manufactures in Africa, Arabia, and Syria, and to supply our commerce with all the productions of those vast countries. 3rdly, Setting out from Egypt as from a place of arms, to lead an army of 60,000 men to the Indus; to excite the Mahrattas and oppressed people [the oppressors of course being the British] of those extensive regions to insurrection: 60,000 men, half Europeans, and half recruits from the burning climates of the equator and tropics, carried by 10,000 horses, and 50,000 camels, having with them provisions for fifty or sixty days, water for five or six days, and a train of artillery of 150 field-pieces, with double supplies of ammunition, would have reached the Indus in four months. Since the invention of shipping, the ocean has ceased to be an obstacle; and the Desert is no longer an impediment to an army possessed of camels and dromedaries in abundance.”

In their designs upon our Indian Empire, the French kept up a good secret understanding with such leaders as

Tippoo Saib. The following is an intercepted letter, addressed
 "To the most magnificent Sultan, our greatest friend Tippoo
 Saib :—"

"HEAD QUARTERS, CAIRO,
7th Pluviôse, 7th year of the Republic.

"You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England.

"I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your political situation.

"I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I may confer.

"May the Almighty increase your power, and destroy your enemies.
 "BUONAPARTE."*

Had this French expedition succeeded as signally as it failed; had Napoleon, instead of being repulsed at Acre exactly three weeks after the fall of Seringapatam, gained that key to Asia Minor, it is highly probable the whole course of the world's destiny would have been changed. Most certainly Great Britain would have lost many extensive possessions, but with Nelson and Smith on the Mediterranean, and Harris, Baird, and Wellesley in India, she not only bravely held her own, but gained fresh glory and fresh land.

The family that had been deposed by Hyder was still living in Mysore in a state of great wretchedness, and a commission, of which Colonel Wellesley was a member, was appointed to consider what should be done with regard to

* The date of this letter, according to the ordinary calendar, is 27th January, 1799, the month Pluviôse, or rainy, extending from 20th January to 18th February, and the first year of the Republic, commencing 22nd September, 1792.

them and the state of the country generally. The regulation of affairs in the conquered city was entrusted to Colonel Wellesley, and this delicate and responsible duty he discharged with that firmness, directness, and sagacity, for which he was afterwards so distinguished. His sources of annoyance were extremely numerous, as we may suppose in a place like Seringapatam. One of these is so singular that it deserves to be mentioned. Wellesley wrote to General Harris, saying, "There are some tigers here which I wish Meer Allum would send for, or else I must give orders to have them shot, as there is no food for them, nobody to attend to them, and they are getting violent." The tigers had to be shot. Another source of annoyance arose of a much more formidable kind. In India it is, or was, a very usual thing for a man either dissatisfied with the government or unwilling to submit to the restraints of society, to turn "a bold outlaw" like Robin Hood or Rob Roy, collect around him all the lawless spirits of the time, live by plunder, pillage, and rapine, and go on accumulating strength until he becomes powerful enough to seize a throne, subvert a dynasty, and reign as absolute ruler of some small state. Such a man was Dhoondiah Waugh. He had during Tippoo's time overrun the Mysore, had been hunted from place to place, and was at last captured by treachery and confined in a dungeon at Seringapatam. When the town fell he was liberated; but he returned to his old courses, and was joined by the dispersed and desperate remnants of the soldiers of Tippoo. He soon became a formidable opponent, laid the country waste in every direction, inspired the inhabitants with incessant fear, and most probably, had the old Mysore dynasty not been supported by British troops, this Dhoondiah would have seized and kept their throne and power; as it was he assumed the title of "king of the two worlds," and added to the many cares incidental to Colonel Wellesley's position. It was necessary to get rid of such a pest, and a strong force

was dispatched against him, which after some very sharp fighting drove "the king of the two worlds" across the Mahratta frontier, and thus rid Mysore of his presence. For a short time all was quiet, but Dhoondiah soon recovered strength; he aimed at taking away the life of Colonel Wellesley, and proposed to do this while the Colonel was out hunting—an attempt which he despised, and even went to hunt, to show how little he cared for the robber. But affairs became so serious that Colonel Wellesley received on May 24th, 1800, the following laconic order from the Governor-General on the subject:—"You are to pursue Dhoondiah Waugh wherever you may find him, and hang him on the first tree." Colonel Wellesley accordingly marched against him, and after a good deal of fighting succeeded in killing the "king of the two worlds." The concluding scene is thus related by Colonel Wellesley in a despatch dated 11th September, 1800:—

"I have the pleasure to inform you that I gained a complete victory yesterday in an action with Dhoondiah's army, in which he was killed. His body was recognised, and was brought into camp on a gun attached to the 19th Dragoons.

* * * * *

"The King of the World broke up on the 9th, from Malgherry, about twenty-five miles on this side of Raichore, and proceeded towards the Kistna; but he saw Colonel Stevenson's camp, returned immediately, and encamped on that evening about nine miles from hence, between this place and Burmoo. I had early intelligence of his situation; but the night was so bad, and my horses so much fatigued that I could not move. After a most anxious night, I marched in the morning and met the King of the World with his army, about 5000 horse, at a village called Conahgull, about six miles from hence. He had not known of my being so near him in the night,—had thought that I was at Chinnoor, and was marching to the westward with the intention of passing

between the Mahratta and Mogul cavalry and me. He drew up, however, in a very strong position, as soon as he perceived me; and the victorious army stood for some time with apparent firmness. I charged them with the 19th and 25th dragoons, and the 1st and 2nd regiments of cavalry; and drove them before me till they dispersed, and were scattered over the face of the country. I then returned and attacked the royal camp, and got possession of elephants, camels, baggage, &c. &c., which were still upon the ground. The Mogul and Mahratta cavalry came up about eleven o'clock; and they have been employed ever since in the pursuit and destruction of the scattered fragments of the victorious army."

It is curious to note how contemptuously Colonel Wellesley speaks of this Dhoondiah, and how much quiet irony runs through all his communications regarding him, as if he felt keenly that he was not "a foeman worthy of his steel."

About this time Colonel Wellesley was offered the command of an expedition against Batavia, and had actually proceeded as far as Trincomalee with the troops intended for the service; but through some irregularity the naval force did not arrive, and Colonel Wellesley carried the troops to Bombay. He found he had done right in carrying the troops there, for the Governor-General had abandoned all intentions against Batavia, and was now desirous of making a descent on Egypt by way of the Red Sea. The command of this expedition was entrusted to General Baird, and Wellesley was to go as second in command; but a serious attack of fever prevented him from embarking, and on his recovery he was again appointed to administer the affairs of Mysore. It was well for his fame and his country that it was so, for before the expedition reached Egypt the French had been driven from that country; all was settled; there was nothing to be done; while in India another storm was gathering, which it was reserved for the genius of Colonel Wellesley to quell.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN CAMPAIGNS CONTINUED.

THE events with which we closed the last chapter took place in the year 1801, and in April of 1802, Arthur Wellesley was promoted to be a Major-General. He was then thirty-three years old, and had been fifteen years in the army, and his promotion will appear extremely slow when compared with that of Napoleon and other officers in the French service at the time. He had been in India about five years, the greater part of which time had been spent in active service of the utmost value to the country. Since his departure from Europe, mighty changes had taken place. The formidable French Directory had been deposed by Napoleon, nearly all Europe lay at his mercy, and during the same year that Wellesley was gazetted a Major-General, Napoleon was elected Consul for life. Both heroes were rising to eminence, but the mighty struggle between the two principles represented by them had not yet fairly begun.

For about a year and a half General Wellesley employed himself with the peaceful regulation of affairs in Mysore. That territory had been divided after the death of Tippoo into three portions, one being given to the Nizam, another to the old native princes who had been deposed by Hyder, and the other was retained by the British. In the fulfilment of his duty, General Wellesley greatly gained the respect of the natives. His firmness, justice, and, at the same time, moderation, were qualities that had rarely been displayed in the rulers of Mysore, and the natives felt a security and a happiness under the administration of the British general to which they had long been unaccustomed.

But peace is in India the exception, not the rule, and though our most formidable neighbour had been subdued in the person of Tippoo Saib, yet there soon arose indications that we must again act on the defensive. The tide of war this time came from the Mahrattas. This was the name of the natives or rather collection of natives, who, coming down from the north, had made themselves masters of the immense tract of country lying between Delhi and Poonah. This embraced nearly the whole centre of the peninsula, and was inhabited by about forty millions of people. The authority was distributed among five chiefs, though nominally the Rajah of Satarah was the head, but the sovereign power was administered by the Peishwah, a kind of prime minister resident at Poonah. The standing army kept up by these Mahratta chiefs was estimated to be more than a quarter of a million, well disciplined and equipped, and forming a force which, united under and directed by one authority, could very soon have swept the British from India and completely annihilated their power. A very large proportion of the officers of this large force were Europeans, chiefly Frenchmen whom the disturbed state of Europe, caused by the French revolution, had driven to seek their fortunes in distant lands. The only real security the British had against the attack of such a large force, was that the Mahratta chiefs were constantly at variance with each other, their interests very often were different, and unanimity was little to be expected in any of their arrangements. The policy of the Governor-General therefore was, should a war be probable, to take advantage of the internal dissensions of these chiefs, and play them off against each other.

The Peishwah, Scindiah, and Holkar, were the three most important chiefs, and at that time they were at variance with each other and certainly not favourably disposed towards the British. Tippoo had used many arts to win them to his support and to declare war against the British, but he did not succeed. He sent thirty-eight camel loads of money to Scindiah just before the breaking out of the war, with the view of securing

his assistance ; Scindiah took the money but refused to leave Poonah for a year, and before that time had expired the war was ended. The Peishwah approved of the proceedings of the British against Tippoo, but gave no assistance, and when the Mysore came to be divided, a share was offered to the Peishwah but rejected with very little ceremony.

The fighting first began between the forces of Holkar on one side, and those of Scindiah and the Peishwah on the other. What the quarrel was about and what the fighting was to settle does not very clearly appear, but the immediate consequence was that Scindiah and the Peishwah were defeated, the latter flying in great fear from his capital, and Poonah being thus placed at the mercy of Holkar. The Peishwah implored the protection of the British, and it was finally resolved by the Governor-General that Poonah should be defended and the Peishwah supported. It was absolutely necessary for the security of the British possessions, that this town should be in friendly hands. Poonah was then estimated to contain about four hundred thousand inhabitants ; it was a place of considerable wealth and importance, and well situated as a centre of military operations. Besides, on the Poonah side the Mysore district was, according to General Wellesley, very defenceless. He said " a body of Mahratta horse would overrun the whole of the rich province of Bednore—would plunder Bednore itself—and might push their devastations to within sixty miles of Seringapatam, without the chance of danger or molestation."

On the other side, again, Poonah was near Bombay, and it was evidently undesirable that that great city should have a powerful and hostile neighbour. General Wellesley was accordingly ordered to advance on Poonah and reinstate the Peishwah. In April, 1802, he marched with a considerable force, was received everywhere in the most friendly manner, and liberated Poonah without its being necessary to strike a blow. The Peishwah returned and entered into a friendly alliance with the British. It was now the policy of the

Governor-General to form a similar alliance with Scindiah, but he received the overtures with great coolness, and it soon became apparent that he was in secret communication with Holkar, and that, in fact, the leading Mahratta chiefs were determined on war against the British.

Preparations for war were accordingly made, and General Wellesley advanced from Poonah against the Mahratta forces. The first action took place at Ahmednuggur, a town about seventy miles north-east from Poonah. This town contained a strongly fortified castle defended by some Mahratta troops. Wellesley attacked the town, and after a fierce struggle, in which nearly a hundred and fifty men were either killed or wounded, it was taken, and in three days afterwards the fort surrendered. The next place that fell into the hands of the British was Aurungabad, famous for its connection with the magnificent Eastern Prince Aurungzebe, but now sadly fallen into decay. The progress of the British troops was scarcely opposed ; Wellesley knew that an immense body of Mahratta horse were hovering near him, but they never showed fight. At last, on the 23rd September, 1803, the two armies encountered each other at the little but now immortal village of Assaye. This place is situated on a piece of land near the junction of two rivers, and is about thirty miles from Aurungabad. Here the Mahratta chiefs, Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, had drawn up their forces, amounting altogether to about 50,000 men, of whom 30,000 were cavalry well mounted, and a hundred pieces of cannon. This formidable force was drawn up in most imposing battle array. To oppose such an army, Wellesley had only about 8000 men, of whom one fifth were cavalry, and he had only seventeen pieces of cannon. It is true the other division of the army under Colonel Stevenson, equally strong with that under Wellesley, was not more than twelve miles distant, but its arrival in time to share in the action could not be depended on. This division of the force arose from Wellesley's having been misinformed about the proceedings of the Mahrattas, and expecting that he

and Stevenson would form a junction at the point where it was most likely the enemy would give battle. The nature of the roads also rendered it necessary that the division should take place. Scindiah knew of the arrangements of the British, and had thus skilfully collected his whole force to attack, under the advantage of surprise, only half of that opposed to him.

The position in which Wellesley was placed was of no ordinary difficulty ; it was his first pitched battle, the force opposed to him was six times that under his command ; in cavalry and artillery the superiority of his enemy was incalculable, and, so far as could be judged by numbers, defeat was inevitable ; but Wellesley determined not only to fight, but to be the attacking party. The British cavalry were ordered to form on a rising ground near the village ; the 1600 horsemen took up their position in front of the 30,000 opposed to them with the utmost coolness and intrepidity. The battle began by an attack made by the British on the infantry of the enemy, and in a short time the battle raged furiously on all sides. The British cannon were soon silenced, the gunners and the horses being shot down at the beginning of the action. The cannon of the enemy did fearful execution, and the charges of their cavalry were almost irresistible, but their efforts were in vain ; the British soldiers charged up to the cannons and bayoneted the gunners at their guns, while the fierce charges of the British cavalry soon threw the enemy's horse into confusion. But though the circumscribed nature of the ground was unfavourable for the movements of large masses of cavalry, yet the great superiority of numbers was beginning to tell on the fortune of the day, when Wellesley ordered up a regiment that had been kept in reserve, and their charge and another furious assault by the British cavalry decided the battle. The Mahrattas turned and fled ; Wellesley's first pitched battle was won.

The loss to the British in this well-fought action was, including killed and wounded, about 1600, or one-fifth of the whole number engaged. Wellesley himself "lost two horses,

—Diomed, who was piked, and another horse shot under me. Almost all the staff had their horses either killed or wounded, or were struck in some place or other.”

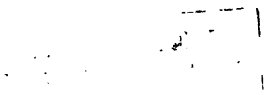
For many weeks after this, General Wellesley was unable to follow up his success ; the wounded had to be attended to and provisions obtained, and this in the face of all the obstacles that the natives, even though professing to be friendly, could throw in the way. In one of his despatches the General says, “Since the battle of Assaye, I have been like a man who fights with one hand and defends himself with the other. With Colonel Stevenson’s corps I have acted offensively, and have taken Asseerghur ; and with my own, I have covered his operations, and defended the territories of the Nizam and the Peishwah. In doing this, I have made some terrible marches, but I have been remarkably fortunate ; first, in stopping the enemy when they intended to press to the southward, through the Casserbury Ghaut, and afterwards, by a rapid march to the northward, in stopping Scindiah, when he was moving to interrupt Colonel Stevenson’s operations against Asseerghur ; in which he would otherwise undoubtedly have succeeded.”

The remainder of the year was passed in repeated skirmishes and unsuccessful attempts at negotiation. Scindiah patched up a hollow peace, the conditions of which he very soon broke ; and in the beginning of December, he was defeated in a battle fought at Argaum. A short time after the fort of Gawilghur, long considered impregnable, was attacked and taken ; and these continued successes, in conjunction with the victories of Lake in the north, brought the Mahratta chiefs to their senses, and they sued for peace, which was, after a good deal of negotiation, granted to them. The remainder of the stay of General Wellesley in India was occupied not so much in warfare as in the settlement of the districts lately disturbed by war, and restoring affairs to an orderly and settled state. In this arduous task his labours were active and incessant.

When the intelligence of his successes in India reached England, the King, in consideration of his eminent and

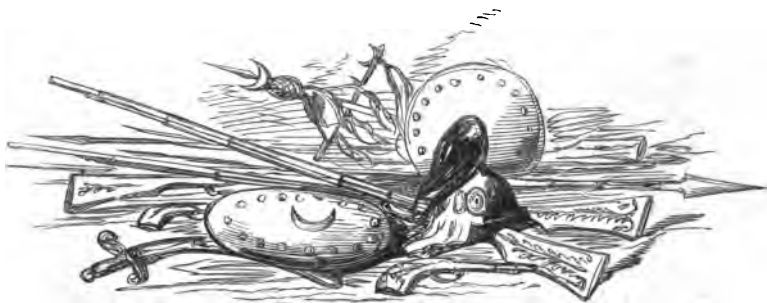


BATTLE OF ASSAYE.



brilliant services, was “graciously pleased to direct that the insignia of the most honourable Order of the Bath should be transmitted to that officer ; and that he may immediately evince his sense of Major-General Wellesley’s merits and services, his Majesty has further directed that he shall be created an extra Knight Companion of that order, and that his creation and investiture shall not wait for a succession to a regular vacancy therein.”

In the beginning of 1805, General Wellesley resigned his command, and returned to England loaded with honours, heaped upon him both by the troops under his command, and the people of India. A golden vase, value two thousand guineas, was presented to him by his officers, and the inhabitants of Calcutta gave him a sword, value £1000. Addresses also poured in from all sides, the most affecting being from the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, by whom he was both respected and beloved. He departed for England in March, and arrived in September, 1805.



INDIAN ARMS.

CHAPTER IV.

MARRIAGE—SECRETARY FOR IRELAND—EXPEDITION TO COPENHAGEN.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY, for so we must now call him, since he has been made a Knight Companion of the Bath, had been nine years absent from his native land. During that period many remarkable changes had taken place. The Irish Parliament, of which he was once a member, had ceased to exist, its place of meeting had been converted into a banking-house, and the legislative union of Britain and Ireland had been consummated, not without bribery and not without opposition. The young soldier whom he left an artillery officer at Toulon was now Emperor of France, and had assembled a mighty army on the heights of Boulogne for the purpose of invading England. The French revolution had roused men's minds to the necessity of educating the people, and two great societies had been formed for that purpose. The great discoveries of Science, that will ultimately supersede all war and warriors, were even then casting their gigantic shadows into the future, for Symington and Fulton were then trying the power of a steam-boat on the Forth and Clyde canal.

On his return to England he was employed in a bootless expedition to Hanover, and soon after the expedition was recalled he was appointed to the Coloneley of the 33rd regiment, vacant by the death of the Marquis of Cornwallis, then Governor-General of India; and immediately after he was returned to the House of Commons as one of the members for the borough of Rye, one of the Cinque Ports, of which he was afterwards to be Lord Warden. Before he went to India

Sir Arthur was engaged to be married to the Honourable Catherine Pakenham, a daughter of the Earl of Longford, a lady young, beautiful, and accomplished ; but during his absence she was attacked by the small pox, which made such havoc of her beauty that her appearance became very different from that of the woman whom Arthur Wellesley had wooed and won. In a spirit of noble self-denial she informed her betrothed of the change that had been made in her appearance, and offered if he chose to release him from his engagement. But with his usual good faith and literal adherence to treaties, he refused to avail himself of the generous offer, and Miss Pakenham became Lady Wellesley on the 10th of April, 1806.

Sir Arthur seems to have taken little part at this time in the proceedings of Parliament. His birth, education, and habits of thought led him instinctively to the ranks of the old Tory party led by Mr. Pitt. But that great statesman died immediately after the battle of Austerlitz, which was fought in December, 1805, and in February, 1806, his ministry was succeeded by that famous administration known in history as embracing "all the talents" which the liberal party then possessed. Its leader in the House of Commons was Mr. Fox, the great rival of Pitt, who held the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Sheridan was also there as Treasurer of the Navy, and the Duke of Bedford, head of the house of Russell, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This ministry was supposed to be rather favourable to Napoleon, but at that time the great warrior had withdrawn his troops from Boulogne, all his plans of invasion having been disconcerted by Nelson's grand victory at Trafalgar in the previous year. His celebrated but utterly powerless Berlin decree was issued in November of 1806. Mr. Fox died in September of the same year, and a new ministry was formed with the Duke of Portland as Premier, and embracing Mr. Canning, Lord Hawkesbury, &c. The Duke of Richmond was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Sir Arthur Wellesley accompanied him, in April, 1807,

D

as Chief Secretary. The principal speeches that he had hitherto made in the British Parliament had been in defence of the policy pursued by his brother while Governor-General of India, which was subjected to some very severe attacks.

Ireland had not yet sufficiently cooled down from the excitement attendant 'on the Union. There is no use in denying that the Unions both of Scotland and Ireland with England were unpopular with the great mass of the people ; and that they were both carried by measures neither creditable nor patriotic. In every district of Ireland, the new order of things, and the new government, were unpopular ; the Catholic emancipation question still continued to be agitated ; and a young barrister, Daniel O'Connell, whose name afterwards became formidable to every administration, was then acquiring an extraordinary influence over the Irish nation ; while the memory of Robert Emmet was still revered by the people. So menacing indeed was the aspect of affairs, that extraordinary powers for the suppression of disorder had to be granted to the Irish Executive. With few men could those powers be more safely trusted than Sir Arthur Wellesley ; and his administration fully justified the confidence reposed in him. The power that he wielded was always in exact proportion to the object to be effected ; powers were never strained nor unwisely delegated ; and the loyal and the innocent were never made to suffer. He introduced several reforms into the machinery of the government of Ireland, which exist in successful operation at the present day. He had only been a few months in Ireland, when he was called upon to take part in a somewhat singular expedition against Copenhagen.

To understand the nature of this expedition, it is necessary we should glance for a moment at the progress of events on the Continent. Napoleon had been victorious everywhere by land ; Italy was in his power, Prussia was at his feet, Austria was conquered, and the smaller states of Europe were at his command. It required only that he should either conquer or ally

himself with Russia, to be supreme ruler of Europe, except that unconquerable island which alone defied his power. He chose to be friends with Russia ; and a treaty was concluded at Tilsit, in July, 1807, which recognised the Confederacy of the Rhine, deprived Prussia of a large portion of her territories, and recognised Joseph, Louis, and Jerome Buonaparte, as respectively kings of Naples, Holland, and Westphalia. Several secret articles were added to this treaty, couched in the most hostile spirit to Great Britain. The other European powers were persuaded to acquiesce in the system of excluding all English goods and ships ; while the British Government replied, by seizing all foreign ships, and blockading almost the entire line of European coast. But, supreme though Napoleon was on land, he was powerless at sea ; for the French fleet had been annihilated at Trafalgar, and it came to the knowledge of the British Government, that to carry out his designs against this country, he intended to use the large Danish fleet collected in the harbour of Copenhagen. No time was to be lost ; it was a crisis when the abstract rules of morality could not be nicely followed, and it was determined that this fleet should be seized and brought to England. A force of 20,000 men, and several vessels of war, were despatched for this purpose ; the naval command being entrusted to Admiral Gambier, and the military to Lord Cathcart, under whom Sir Arthur Wellesley was entrusted with the command of a considerable body of troops. The Danish Government refused to come to any arrangement satisfactory to the British Government, and fighting began. On the sea side, it was confined to three days' bombardment of Copenhagen, which resulted in the surrender of the city, and the capture of the fleet. The land forces were disembarked before the naval reached Copenhagen ; and the division under General Wellesley encountered the Danish troops at Kioje—a little place near Copenhagen. In this battle 60 Danish officers, and more than 10,000 men, were taken prisoners. It was easily won ; and was, in fact,

the only attempt at resistance made on the land side. The number of vessels carried away from Copenhagen was sixteen sail-of-the-line, nine frigates, and many smaller ships. The expedition occupied only about a month; was accomplished with very little bloodshed on the part of the British, and most effectually prevented Napoleon from carrying out his designs against this country.

This expedition against Copenhagen is an event little known or remembered in the life of Sir Arthur Wellesley. It occupied a very short time, was immediately followed by a resumption of his official duties, and came just before his renowned campaigns in the Peninsula. But one of its results, however trifling, is deserving of mention here. Lord Roslyn, of Dysart House, in Scotland, who accompanied the expedition, had with him a favourite mare, which, on returning to England, produced a colt which was purchased for about 200*l.* for Sir Arthur Wellesley. He named it Copenhagen; and when Copenhagen had arrived at a horse's years of discretion, he frequently carried his master both after the hounds and against the enemy; and obtained a distinction as great as that of Bucephalus—of carrying Arthur Wellesley, then Duke of Wellington, on 18th June, 1815, all through the hard fought fight of Waterloo. Twenty years after, Copenhagen, who had been invalided at Strathfieldsaye, laid himself quietly down to sleep the sleep of death.

Very varied have been the opinions expressed regarding this Copenhagen expedition. By some it has been declared to be as wanton an act of piracy and murder as was ever committed on the high seas, and by others it has been declared to be a harsh but an absolutely necessary act of self-preservation. Each opinion is right from its particular point of view. Those men whose creed is one of abstract and absolute justice, who form their system of morality as if sin were not in this world, who shut their eyes to everything but the purity of their own motives; who will not believe that they can ever be taken in or robbed or deceived by other people, to serve selfish ends; such

men will doubtless consider the conduct of the British at the time as quite unjustifiable. But such men invariably push their theories to an impracticable length, and however such a line of conduct may adorn the walks of private life in a town with an efficient police, it would be very dangerous if adopted by those entrusted with the destinies of a great country, who had to deal with men as daring as they were unscrupulous, and who had to meet and avert dangers by the speediest and most direct means. Even considered on the lowest possible grounds, the expedition to Copenhagen was the lesser evil of the two ; for what was the alternative ? That Napoleon would have seized that fleet was beyond a doubt ; that he would have made a descent with it on our shores, was equally clear. The question therefore was, should that fleet lie quiet and harmless in our harbours, or should it appear there with an invading army, flushed with the victories of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland ? That the latter was not the sad result, we owe, under Providence, to the foresight of the Portland ministry, the naval skill of Gambier, and the military genius of Wellesley.

When Sir Arthur returned, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted, in January, 1808, to the army and navy, for their services at Copenhagen. With reference to Wellesley, the Speaker of the House said, “ I should indeed be wanting to the full expression of those sentiments which animate this House and the whole country, if I forbore to notice that we are, on this day, crowning with our thanks one gallant officer, long since known to the gratitude of this House, who has long trodden the paths of glory, whose genius and valour have already extended our fame and empire ; whose sword has been the terror of our distant enemies, and will not now be drawn in vain to defend the seat of empire itself, and the throne of his King. I am, Sir Arthur Wellesley, charged to deliver the thanks of this House to you ; and I do accordingly thank you, in the name of the Commons of the United Kingdom, for your zeal, intrepidity, and exertion, displayed in the various opera-

tions which were necessary for conducting the siege, and effecting the surrender of the navy and arsenal of Copenhagen."

Sir Arthur replied as follows :

"Mr. Speaker,—I consider myself fortunate that I was employed by his Majesty on a service which this House has considered of such importance, as to have marked with its approbation the conduct of those officers and troops who have performed it. The honour which this House has conferred upon my honourable friends and myself, is justly considered by the officers of the navy and army as the highest which this country can confer ; it is the object of the ambition of all who are employed in his Majesty's service ; and to obtain it has doubtless been the motive of many of those acts of valour and good conduct which have tended so eminently to the glory, and have advanced the prosperity and advantage of this country. I can assure the House that I am most sensible of the great honour which they have done me ; and I beg leave to take this opportunity of returning you, Sir, my thanks for the handsome terms respecting myself, in which your kindness to me has induced you to convey the resolution of the House."

It is difficult to know which to admire most in these short speeches ; the eloquence of the Speaker, or the modesty of the victorious soldier.

Sir Arthur resumed his duties as Secretary for Ireland, which he continued to discharge with the utmost fidelity and skill for another year, until the changing fortunes of Europe summoned him to a wider and grander field of operations ; which was to result in bringing the two greatest military chieftains of the age into personal contact, in a struggle on which hung the destinies of Europe, of the world, and of civilisation.

Two children were born to him during these years—Arthur, the present Duke, born 1807, and Charles, born 1808.

CHAPTER V.

PENINSULA CAMPAIGNS.

WHILE Napoleon was thus baffled in his designs against this country, his restless and ambitious spirit immediately sought out a new field of aggrandisement. His treaty with Russia and his influence over Prussia and the smaller German states prevented him from having any apprehensions of an attack on France from the East, while the fact that his brothers were kings of three other states of Europe caused him to feel that his power was firmly established. Austria certainly held aloof; she was at peace with France, but was pursuing the quiet but safe policy of an "armed neutrality," and was engaged in the most extensive preparations for increasing her military resources. Thus secure, as he considered, on one side of Europe, the eyes of Napoleon were turned to Spain and Portugal, and the subjugation of the Peninsula was determined on.

Spain at that period was governed by Charles IV., a most unworthy inheritor of the name of his great predecessor the Emperor of Germany. This King, weak and imbecile, was completely governed by the Queen, a woman of violent temper and licentious habits, who in her turn was directed by her criminal favourite Godoy, afterwards the famous Prince of Peace, descendant of an old but decayed Spanish family, who had been raised from the ranks of the army by the influence of the Queen. The heir to the throne was Ferdinand, then about twenty-four years of age. The Spanish court, as is always the case, took its character from the conduct of the

sovereigns, and its weakness and corruption presented a striking contrast to the power and energy that animated the Emperor and all around him. The Spanish nobility had lost all the iron energy and bravery that distinguished men like Cortes and Pizarro; and had fallen so low that it was not an unusual saying that "in Spain all are noble *except* the nobility." The ruinous restrictive commercial policy of Spain had prevented the growth in her seaports of an active and enterprising middle class, and the general population, though inhabiting the finest country in Europe, a country that during the time of the Moors might be said to be the garden of the continent, had no desire to draw from the soil more than was absolutely necessary for daily subsistence. Besides, the population of Spain consisted of numerous races, divided from each other by physical barriers, and by differences in customs and language. The internal communications were very bad, and the cities, though invested with much historical glory, were old and decayed. Indeed the kingdom of Spain had sunk into a weak lethargic state, that rendered it an easy prey to the ambition of Napoleon. The state of Portugal to a great extent was very similar. The army possessed by these countries was not numerous, and Napoleon had contrived to carry the best part of the Spanish forces, under the Marquis Romana, numbering about 10,000, into Germany, thus leaving the country nearly defenceless.

Napoleon ordered the Portuguese to carry into effect his Berlin decree; the King of Portugal prohibited the importation of British goods, but refused to confiscate the property of British merchants. This was made by the Emperor a pretext for declaring war, and Marshal Junot was dispatched with a large force to invade Portugal. He entered the country on October 19, 1807. Eight days afterwards a treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau between Napoleon and Charles, the object of which was the partition of Portugal.

Since the partition of Poland, no political event was more

disgraceful to all the parties concerned than this attempt against the independence of one of the oldest monarchies of Europe. The King of Portugal had committed no crime ; he had not attacked Spain, and the only offence he had given to Napoleon was his refusal to carry out an arbitrary order alike repugnant to all the dictates of justice and humanity. But Napoleon wished a footing in Spain ; he saw clearly that France was vulnerable to British troops on the side of the Peninsula, and he wished to surround his own territory by an effectual barrier against invasion on every side. The advantage gained by Charles from this treaty was only a guarantee from Napoleon of " all his estates in Europe south of the Pyrenees." Godoy, the Queen of Spain's favourite, was to obtain the provinces of Algarve and Alemtejo, which embrace nearly the whole of Portugal south of the Tagus, and the northern districts were to be given to the King of Etruria, as compensation for some territory he had ceded to France. These provinces were to be occupied by Spanish troops, and the French were to take possession of the centre, that is, the best portion of Portugal, embracing Estremadura and Beira, and including Lisbon, the capital. Thus, while the soil of Spain was cleared of the Spanish troops, the whole of the Peninsula seemed to be in a condition that prevented any effectual resistance to the designs of the French. But this was not all. A Russian fleet was dispatched from the Black Sea, consisting of eight sail of the line, with orders to prevent the escape of the Portuguese fleet then lying at Lisbon.

Affairs thus assumed so menacing an attitude, that the house of Braganza was filled with alarm and made instant preparations for flight to Brazil. The Portuguese fleet was got ready for sea, and the royal family sailed away amid the tears of the Portuguese nation. They escaped the vigilance of the Russian fleet and arrived safely in Brazil on the 22nd January, 1808.

Lisbon immediately fell into the hands of Junot, and the Spanish troops, in accordance with the treaty of Fontainebleau,

occupied the other parts of the kingdom. Immense contributions were exacted from the inhabitants ; the army was disarmed and sent to France, and the whole country given up to the pillage of the French soldiers. Napoleon, however, overreached himself. Without paying any attention to the stipulations respecting Godoy and the King of Etruria, he caused Junot to administer the affairs of the whole country in the Emperor's name, thus practically ignoring the claims of his allies, who now perceived they had been his dupes.

Meanwhile, in Spain, the intrigues of Napoleon were no less successful. By a system of the most paltry chicanery and deceit, he induced Charles and Ferdinand to meet him at Bayonne, in order that he might settle their differences about the Spanish crown. The infatuated king and prince were detained in France as prisoners, and, by the exercise of persuasion and intimidation, compelled to renounce all their rights to the Spanish throne. The troops of France, to the number of nearly 100,000, were poured into Spain, and very soon the entire north and west, including the capital, Madrid, and the most important fortresses, were in the hands of the French. The dashing cavalry officer Murat was appointed, as Junot had been in Portugal, lieutenant of the Emperor, and sent to Spain with almost unbounded authority.

Another European throne was now vacant, and the choice of the man to fill it was in the hands of Napoleon. All his brothers, with the exception of Lucien—who was too independent to accept empty power from Napoleon's hands—already wore crowns ; but the Emperor, determined that the prize should not pass out of his family, offered the crown to Louis, the mild, pensive, unwarlike King of Holland. By him it was refused. It was then offered to Joseph, the elder brother of Napoleon, who was then governing, with popularity and discretion, the kingdom of Naples. Joseph accepted the Spanish crown, and was succeeded at Naples by Murat, who had married Caroline, one of the sisters of the Emperor.

But amid all these changes, the people of Spain did not remain inactive. The real nature of Napoleon's designs was quickly perceived, and very soon the population rose as one man against the invaders. But, though often successful, the undisciplined valour of the Spaniards and Portuguese made little head against the veteran soldiers, led on by the bravest and most skilful marshals of the empire. Added to this, the natives were disconnected, and without adequate resources ; the generals were jealous of each other ; and the supreme commands were too much divided. A disaster which befel the French General Dupont in Andalusia raised the hopes of the Spaniards, and produced an extraordinary sensation in Europe. This general was despatched in May, 1808, with 20,000 men, to attack Cadiz, the principal sea-port of Spain on the Atlantic shore, and which at that time was the most important town not in the hands of the French. His march through New Castile, through the passes of the Sierra Morena, and onwards to Cordova, was only slightly opposed, and he entered that city with little or no opposition. Had his conduct not been opposed to the law of man and humanity, he might not only have kept Cordova, but obtained possession of the whole provinces of Seville and Granada. But the French were animated by no idea save that of plunder, and while thus engaged they were so surrounded by the Spaniards, that all idea of proceeding farther to the south was abandoned. Dupont tried to retreat, but he was obliged to make an entire surrender. Many of his troops, instead of being sent back to France, as had been agreed, were killed, and the greater proportion were sent to Cadiz as galley-slaves. This disaster had such an effect on Joseph Buonaparte that he fled from Madrid to Burgos, on the 30th of July.

On that same 30th of July, 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed with a British force at Mondego Bay.

In the poem of the " Vision of Don Roderick," published in 1811, Sir Walter Scott describes, in the following graphic

stanzas, the embarkation of the British troops, which is all but literally true :—

Don Roderick turn'd him as the shout grew loud—
A varied scene the changeful vision show'd,
For, where the ocean mingled with the cloud,
A gallant navy stemm'd the billows broad.
From mast and stern St. George's symbol flow'd,
Blent with the silver cross to Scotland dear ;
Mottling the sea their landward barges row'd.
And flash'd the sun on bayonet, brand, and spear,
And the wild beach return'd the seaman's jovial cheer.

It was a dread, yet spirit-stirring sight !
The billows foam'd beneath a thousand oars ;
Fast as they land the red-cross ranks unite,
Legions on legions bright'ning all the shores.
Then banners rise, and cannon signal roars,
Then peals the warlike thunder of the drum,
Thrills the loud fife, the trumpet-flourish pours,
And patriot hopes awake, and doubts are dumb,
For, bold in Freedom's cause, the bands of Ocean come !

A various host they came—whose ranks display
Each mode in which the warrior meets the fight .
The deep battalion locks its firm array,
And meditates his aim the marksman light ;
Far glance the light of sabres flashing bright,
Where mounted squadrons shake the echoing mead,
Lacks not artillery breathing flame and night,
Nor the fleet ordnance whirl'd by rapid steed,
That rivals lightning's flash in ruin and in speed.

A various host—from kindred realms they came,
Brethren in arms, but rivals in renown—
For yon fair bands shall merry England claim,
And with their deeds of valour deck her crown .
Her's their bold port, and her's their martial frown,
And her's their scorn of death in Freedom's cause,
Their eyes of azure, and their locks of brown,
And the blunt speech that bursts without a pause,
And freeborn thoughts, which league the Soldier with the Laws.

And, Oh ! loved warriors of the minstrel's land !
Yonder your bonnets nod, your tartans wave !
The rugged form may mark the mountain band,
And harsher features, and a mien more grave,
But ne'er in battle-field throb'd heart so brave,
As that which beats beneath the Scottish plaid ;
And when the pibroch bids the battle rave,
And level for the charge your arms are laid,
Where lives the desperate foe that for such onset staid !

Hark ! from the stately ranks what laughter rings,
Mingling wild mirth with war's stern minstrelsy,
His jest while each blithe comrade round him flings,
And moves to death with military glee :
Boast, Erin ! boast them ! tameless, frank, and free ;
In kindness warm, and fierce in danger known,
Rough Nature's children, humorous as she :
And Hæ, yon Chieftain—strike the proudest tone
Of thy bold harp, green Isle !—the Hero is thine own.

Neither the people of Britain, the Parliament, nor the Ministry, had looked with unconcern on this mighty movement in Spain and Portugal. The contest begun by the soldiers of the French republic had hitherto been against the rulers, not the people of Europe ; the people had sympathised with revolutionary doctrines, and had established new republics where monarchy had once reigned supreme. But in Spain the soldiers of the revolution came into hostility with the people ; the entire aspect of the struggle was changed ; and its issue, though it might remain doubtful for a long time, must clearly be the regaining of the independence of the invaded country. The Government in which Sir Arthur Wellesley held the office of Irish Secretary was still in office, and their desire to resist Napoleon's power in the Peninsula was warmly supported by Mr. Sheridan, then the leader of the opposition. A large force had been collected at Cork, destined for some movement against South America, and it was resolved to send it to the Peninsula. The fittest man to

command it seemed to be Arthur Wellesley, of whose victories in India the recollection was still fresh, and accordingly he sailed from Cork with 10,000 men on July 18, 1808.

The troops were disembarked in Mondego Bay twelve days afterwards. This bay, situated at the mouth of the river of the same name, is about half way between Lisbon and Oporto. All the northern portion of Portugal was at that time in insurrection against the French, but the south was entirely overrun by the Emperor's troops, and the capital was in the possession of Junot and a large force. By landing therefore at this particular point, Sir Arthur could communicate with the successful insurgents in the north, while the French could attack him only on the southern side. Here he was joined by General Spencer from Cadiz with 13,000 men.

The landing of such a formidable force alarmed the French. All their troops were ordered up from the south, with orders to form a junction at Leyra, an old but miserable city about forty miles south from Mondego Bay, and not only lying between the Tagus and the sea, but commanding many of the passes of the Sierra Estrella, the chief mountain range of Portugal, and a continuation of the mountains of Castile. But this junction was never effected; Laborde, one of the French generals, with 5000 soldiers, was unable to advance further than the small village of Rolica. Here he was attacked by the British, and speedily driven back, with the loss of 600 men and three guns; the British loss in men being nearly equal. This contest, the *first* encounter between the British and French in the Peninsula, took place on August 17, 1808, only seven years before Waterloo, the *last*, and is thus reported in his despatches by Sir Arthur Wellesley:—

“Major-General Hill and Brigadier-General Nightingale advanced upon the enemy's position; at the same moment Brigadier-General Fane's riflemen were in the hills on his right, the Portuguese in a village upon his left, and Major-General Ferguson's column was descending from the heights

into the plain. From this situation the enemy retired by the passes into the mountains with the utmost regularity, and the greatest celerity; and, notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss on the plain.

“It was then necessary to make a disposition to attack the formidable position which the enemy had taken up.

“Brigadier-General Fane’s riflemen were already in the mountains on his right; and no time was lost in attacking the different passes, as well as to support the riflemen as to defeat the enemy completely.

“The Portuguese infantry were ordered up a pass on the right of the whole. The light companies of Major-General Hill’s brigade, and the 5th regiment, moved up a pass next on the right; and the 29th regiment, supported by the 9th regiment, under Brigadier-General Nightingale, a third pass; and the 45th and 82nd regiments passes on the left.

“These passes were all difficult of access, and some of them were well defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 29th and 9th regiments. These regiments attacked with the utmost impetuosity, and reached the enemy before those whose attacks were to be made on their flanks.

“The defence of the enemy was desperate; and it was in this attack principally that we sustained the loss which we have to lament, particularly of that gallant officer the Hon. Lieut.-Col. Lake, who distinguished himself upon this occasion. The enemy was, however, driven from all the positions he had taken in the passes of the mountains, and our troops were advanced in the plains on their tops. For a considerable length of time the 29th and 9th regiments alone were advanced to this point, with Brigadier-General Fane’s riflemen at a distance on the left; and they were afterwards supported by the 5th regiment, and by the light companies of Major-General Hill’s brigade, which had come up on their right, and

by the other troops ordered to ascend the mountains, who came up by degrees.

"The enemy here made three most gallant attacks upon the 29th and 9th regiments, supported, as I have above stated, with a view to cover the retreat of his defeated army, in all of which he was, however, repulsed ; but he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing principally to my want of cavalry ; and secondly to the difficulty of bringing up to the passes of the mountains with celerity a sufficient number of troops and of cannon to support those who had at first ascended. The loss of the enemy has, however, been very great, and he left three pieces of cannon in our hands.

"I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of the troops throughout this action. The enemy's positions were formidable ; and he took them up with his usual ability, and defended them most gallantly. But I must observe that, although we had such a superiority of numbers employed in the operations of this day, the troops actually engaged in the heat of the action were, from unavoidable circumstances, only the 5th, 9th, 29th, the riflemen of the 95th and 60th, and flank companies of Major-General Hill's brigade ; being a number by no means equal to that of the enemy. Their conduct, therefore, deserves the highest commendations."

Laborde conducted his retreat most skilfully, and he soon effected a junction with Junot, who had come from Lisbon, at Torres Vedras. This place, that was afterwards to become so famous from its connexion with the lines of defence constructed by Wellesley, is a little old town lying between the mountains and the sea, and directly in the centre of the route that an army must take to invade Lisbon. The British forces had meanwhile been increased by the arrival of about 2000 men, who had sailed from Ramsgate and Harwich, while 16,000 more, under Sir John Moore, who had been recalled from Corunna, were on their way to the Peninsula. Two officers, however, were also on their way, Sir Harry Burrard to be second,

and Sir Hew Dalrymple to be first in command, and both to supersede Sir Arthur Wellesley. Sir Harry arrived first, and prevented the movement of Sir Arthur, who, with troops flushed with success and against an inferior force, wished to push on, outflank the French, and compel them to surrender. The French, emboldened by this timidity, advanced to Vimiera, three miles north of Torres Vedras, where on the 21st August they attacked the British force. Their attack was at first furious and almost irresistible, but when the British infantry had crossed bayonets with the French, the heroes of Lodi and the Pyramids went down like chaff before the wind, though Kellermann's horse made desperate efforts to retrieve the day. But it was all in vain; the French were repulsed, and the troops were pressing on exultingly in pursuit, when Sir Harry Burrard, thinking enough had been done, recalled the soldiers, to their great chagrin and the mortification of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who saw an opportunity of entirely breaking the French power, wantonly as it were, thrown away. It is stated that when he heard the order he said to some officers round him, "there is nothing more for soldiers to do here; let us go and see what there is for dinner."

The French made good their retreat, and little was gained by a victory in which the loss on the side of the enemy was about 2000 men killed, and 400 prisoners, among whom was General Brennier. The next day Sir Hew Dalrymple arrived, and it was determined to advance on Torres Vedras. But before this could be done, Junot, seeing the state of affairs, had become desperate, and sent Kellermann with proposals for a truce. These were favourably received, and a convention, known as that of Cintra, was concluded between the British and Portuguese.

About this convention there is nothing whatever satisfactory. The popular idea, which seems borne out by its generally adopted name, is that it was concluded at Cintra, a remarkably beautiful village, in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. Lord

Byron takes it for granted that it was concluded there, for in the opening of *Childe Harold* he has some forcible lines descriptive of the place, in which, after lamenting that in Lisbon

The dingy demizens are reared in dirt;
No personage of high or mean degree
Doth care for cleanness of surtout or shirt.

He exclaims of Cintra—

Ah, me ! what hand can pencil guide, or pen,
To follow half on which the eye dilates !
Through views more dazzling unto mortal ken
Than those whereof such things the hand relates,
Who to the awe-struck world unlock'd Elysium's gates.

But in Napier's history of the Peninsular war it is stated that the whole business was transacted "thirty miles from Cintra;" or, in other words, at Lisbon. By this treaty, dated 22nd of August, 1808, it was arranged that the French troops were to evacuate Portugal and be sent back to France, taking with them the greater part of their plunder. The treaty was certainly disgraceful in every respect, and, compared with the unconditional surrender of Dupont at Baylen to Castanos, excited the utmost indignation against the British commanders, both in the Peninsula and at home. Sir Arthur Wellesley flung up his command in disgust, and returned to England. Meanwhile, a Court of Inquiry sat at Chelsea in November of the same year, and, though no punishment was inflicted on the authors of the treaty, yet a strong sentiment of disapprobation was expressed of the terms of the Convention.*

* This Convention consisted of twenty-two articles. The first provided for the delivery of "all the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal occupied by the French troops" to the British army. The second, that "the French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war; and on their arrival in France they shall be at liberty to serve." The

On his return, Sir Arthur Wellesley resumed, under the Portland ministry, which was still in office, his situation as Chief Secretary for Ireland. During the short period of two years his discharge of its duties had thus been seriously interrupted by his absence on military expeditions. To us in the present day such a mode of conducting the business of Ireland appears exceedingly strange. For many years past the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland has been filled by a civilian, as, under ordinary circumstances, it ought to be ; but at the period (1808) to which we now refer, Ireland was in such a state, that doubtless a military Secretary, with the ability, foresight, and decision of Arthur Wellesley, was indispensable. Had his military talents not obtained for him the highest confidence of the Government, he would not have been selected to lead forces into Denmark and Portugal ; and had his civil administration not been marked by ability and success, he would not, on the other hand, have been reinstated in his civil office as soon as his military service was done. He was the man necessary to the time.

third provided that the means of conveying the troops to France should be provided by the British. The fourth and fifth were as follows :—"4. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenal, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the Convention. 5. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name of property of the army ; that is to say, its military chest, and the carriages attached to the field commissariat and field hospital ; or be permitted to dispose of any part of the same, as individuals might of private property." The other articles had reference to mere matters of detail, but every one was highly favourable to the French. Such was the nature of a Convention in which it would almost appear as if victors and vanquished had changed places. Any generals of republican France who had concluded such a treaty would have been shot.

In January, 1809, Parliament met, and Sir Arthur, for the second time, received the thanks of the House of Commons. Meanwhile, some disastrous events had happened in the Peninsula. Sir John Moore landed at Lisbon with 15,000 men, who had been recalled from a fruitless expedition to Sweden, and Sir David Baird, the same general who served in India with Wellesley, landed, after many delays caused by the supineness of the Spaniards, in Galicia with an equal number. The Spanish troops whom Napoleon had inveigled beyond the Rhine, and to the number of about 10,000, contrived to escape, and were conveyed in British ships to the north coast of Spain. Portugal was open to the British troops, and Moore, marching to the north-east, effected a junction with Baird in the north part of Leon. But, meanwhile, Napoleon had poured an immense force into Spain, and Marshal Soult was sent to stop the progress of the British. Madrid, to relieve which was Moore's chief object, surrendered, after an inglorious resistance; and in the face of an overwhelming force, with no prospect of reinforcements from home, badly provisioned, ill supported by the native government, and without definite orders, there was no course left for the British but to retreat. They accordingly retired on Coruña in the most orderly manner, and commenced the work of embarkation. While this was going on, the French under Soult attacked them in great force, and after a furious conflict, were repulsed. In this engagement the brave and gallant Moore was killed. On the field where he fell the soldiers

Buried him darkly at dead of night,
The sod with their bayonets turning,
By the glimmering moonbeam's misty light,
And the lanterns dimly burning.

The British were safely embarked; next day the French entered the town, and, soon after, Marshal Ney erected a monument at Coruña to the memory of Moore,—a graceful

and touching tribute from a generous foe to the memory of a general who was second to none who fought during that long Peninsular War.

The Spanish people still, however, continued to maintain the struggle against the French with varying success; and day by day the hatred between the people and their invaders became more and more intense. The peasantry rose in arms, and commenced that system of guerilla warfare for which a country like Spain is so well adapted. Wherever the French were quartered there guerillas hovered round them, intercepted their provisions, cut off their outposts and stragglers, sometimes did even more daring deeds, and when pursued, retreated to the mountain fastnesses, whither the French durst not follow them. The British government still sympathising with the Spanish people, and anxious to strike a blow at Napoleon in the Peninsula, decided on renewing the war there. The opinion of Sir Arthur Wellesley was requested on the subject, and the memorandum he then drew up is a most able military document: so clear, so direct, and at the same time so minute. The following extracts will show this:—

“The British force employed in Portugal should not be less than 30,000 men, of which number 4000 or 5000 should be cavalry, and there should be a large body of artillery.

* * * * *

“The whole of the army in Portugal, Portuguese as well as British, should be placed under the command of British officers. The staff of the army, the commissariat in particular, must be British: and these departments must be extensive in proportion to the strength of the whole army which will act in Portugal, to the number of detached posts which it will be necessary to occupy, and in a view to the difficulties of providing and distributing supplies in that country. In regard to the detail of these measures, I recommend that the British army in Portugal should be reinforced as soon as possible with some companies of British riflemen, with 3000 British or

German cavalry ; that the complement of ordnance with that army should be made thirty pieces of cannon, of which two brigades should be nine-pounders ; that these pieces of ordnance should be completely horsed ; that twenty pieces of brass (twelve-pounders) ordnance, upon travelling carriages, should be sent to Portugal, with a view to the occupation of certain positions in the country ; that a corps of engineers for an army of 60,000 men should be sent there, and a corps of artillery for sixty pieces of cannon.

“ I understand that the British army now in Portugal consists of 20,000 men, including cavalry. It should be made up 20,000 infantry, at least, as soon as possible, by additions of riflemen and other good infantry, which by this time may have been refitted after the campaign in Spain.

* * * * *

“ Besides the articles above enumerated, 30,000 stands of arms, clothing and shoes, for the Portuguese army, should be sent to Lisbon as soon as possible.”

An expedition to Portugal was soon determined on, and the command offered to Sir Arthur, but declined at first by him, though subsequently accepted. This was in April, 1809, and he immediately resigned his office of Secretary for Ireland, and on April 22 he arrived at Lisbon on a mission that was to terminate in a manner more glorious than the most sanguine hopes of the most sanguine men could ever have anticipated.



CHAPTER VI.

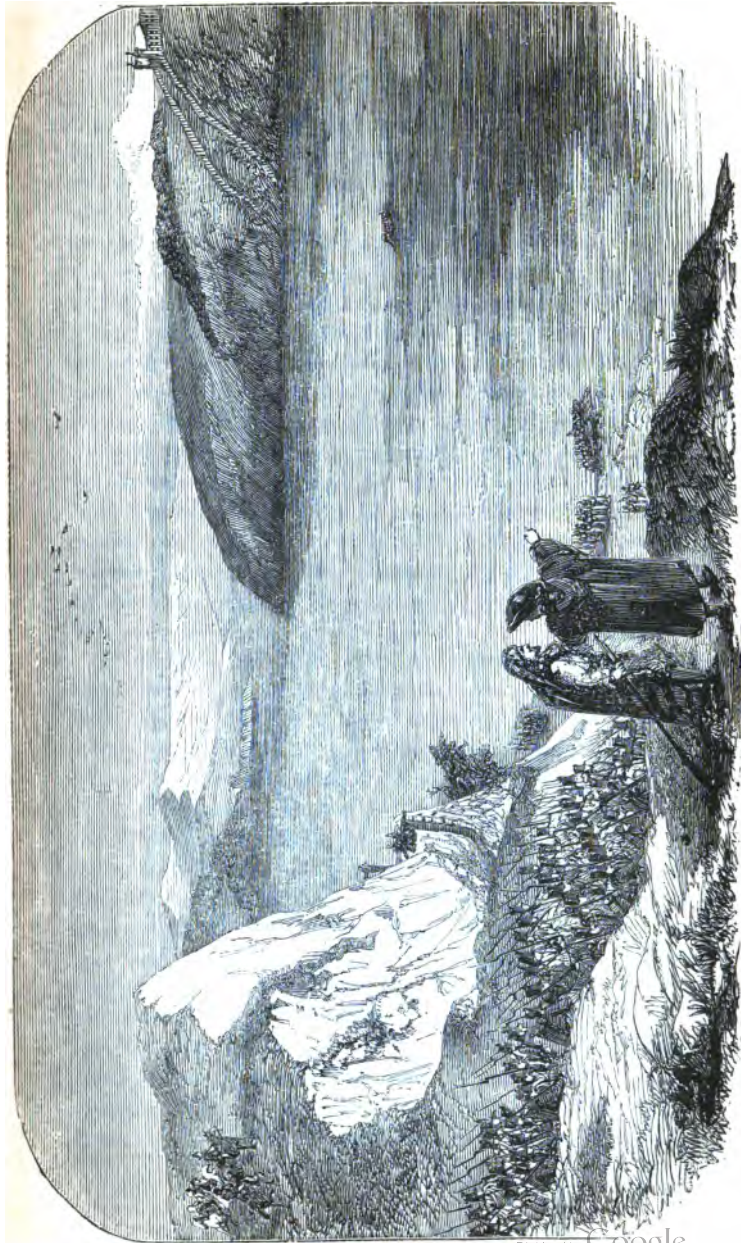
PENINSULA CAMPAIGNS, CONTINUED.

IT was with the greatest delight that the British army, as well as the people of Portugal, welcomed Sir Arthur Wellesley again to that country. Since the retreat of Moore the aspect of affairs in the Peninsula had greatly changed for the worse as regards the French. Napoleon had been alarmed by the quiet but incessant arming of Austria, and by the coolness of the Emperor Alexander. This coolness was said to arise from the refusal on Napoleon's part to permit Alexander to seize Constantinople. The French Emperor had allowed the Russian to encroach considerably on the territory of the Turks, who were then friendly to Napoleon, but Constantinople was too great a prize for Napoleon to lose. The imperial robbers quarrelled, and the natural result followed in course of time that "honest men got their own." War was declared between France and Austria; Napoleon withdrew not only himself but a large portion of his army from the Peninsula to attack the Austrians, and won the fearful battle of Wagram, that caused Austria to sue for peace and led to the divorce of the brilliant Josephine, and the marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Marie Louise. War also broke out in the Tyrol against the French, and the patriotic bands of that rugged but independent region were led by Andrew Höfer, a worthy follower of William Tell. In spite, however, of the numerous levies from the French forces in Spain, there still remained, when Sir Arthur Wellesley landed, a force of 320,000 men, led on by such Marshals as Ney, Soult, and Victor, to oppose which the British had only about

20,000 men ; and although there was an immense number of natives under arms, yet they were so ill-disciplined, so badly equipped, and acted with so little concert, that their efficiency was reduced very low. Shortly before Wellesley landed, Soult had attacked and taken Oporto, and his soldiers had disgraced themselves by the most bloody and brutal conduct. To relieve Oporto therefore was the first object of the British army.

This important town, the second in Portugal, and so famous for the wine that bears its name, is situated about 170 miles north from Lisbon, at the mouth of the river Douro. This long river forms, in part of its course, the boundary between Spain and Portugal, and is navigable for about 100 miles from its mouth, that is to say, about the entire breadth of the country. Nearly the whole British army in Portugal were immediately marched to the Douro, keeping on the sea-ward side of the Sierra Estrella. They came up with the French outposts on May 11, 1809, whom they soon overpowered and drove across the river ; but in their retreat they burned the bridge of boats by which alone the British could cross. The French had also taken care that every boat or other means of conveyance should be either destroyed or carried to the opposite shore.

The position of the British force was one of no ordinary difficulty. Before them on the other side of the Douro was the town of Oporto in possession of Soult with 25,000 soldiers ; between them and it flowed a deep, broad, and rapid river, which it was impossible to ford, and absurd to attempt to swim. No boats could be had, and even with them it would be exceedingly dangerous to cross in the face of such a powerful enemy. But on the other hand Soult, daring and veteran officer as he was, reposed in perfect security, without the slightest apprehension that the British would attempt to cross. The chief part of his force was on the sea-ward side of the town, from which he expected to be attacked. In this extremity the hero of Assaye did not pause. A few skiffs were



PASSAGE OF THE DOURO.

NEW YORK
JULY 10 1914
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found on May 12, and a party of the Buffs crossed in safety. The French attacked them furiously, but they formed square, and not only held their ground, but contrived to send more boats from the northern to the southern shore. The British commenced to cross, the French sounded the alarm, and Soult was informed of the danger. At first he would not believe that the British could be so daring, but he was soon convinced of his mistake. In a short time the whole of the two armies were engaged in a desperate conflict, in which the French were entirely routed. They retired northwards, but were stopped by General Beresford, who held possession of the only road by which their baggage and artillery could retreat. Soult's case was desperate; he could not hope to make further head against the British; he would not surrender; and he adopted the only alternative, of relinquishing all his baggage, wagons, cannon, &c., and retreating by bye-roads to Lugo, an old Roman town in the province of Galicia, where Marshal Ney was then stationed.

By this brilliant action which, for excess of daring, at least equals any deed on record, was the Peninsular campaign of 1809 opened. But here, as at Assaye, the victor could not follow up his victory. Though Oporto was liberated, "the sinews of war" were wanting; and the British troops became both sick and disorderly. Not a few had to be hung, and severe punishment was inflicted on others for bad conduct. The delays thus caused enabled the French to concentrate their forces for an attack on the centre of Portugal from the Spanish side. The Spanish troops on the frontier, numbering nearly 40,000 men, were at that time commanded by General Cuesta, a vain, imbecile, obstinate old man, who was so weak that he had to be conveyed at the head of his troops in a carriage drawn by nine mules, and when he rested, the cushions had to be taken from the carriage and spread on the grass to receive him. His co-operation with the British was in no way to be depended on. However, Sir Arthur determined to act on the offensive, and

he marched across the frontier right into Spain, and after joining Cuesta, and reviewing the Spanish forces by torch-light, appeared in front of the French at Talavera de la Reyna. This old city is within sixty-five miles of Madrid, and Joseph Bonaparte might well be alarmed when the British were so near his capital. Here, however, Joseph concentrated his forces, amounting to about 60,000 men, under Victor, Jourdan, and Sebastiani, while the British, exclusive of the Spaniards, scarcely exceeded 20,000. The battle began on the 27th July, 1809, and lasted all that and the following day. Cuesta behaved like an idiot, the Spaniards like cowards, and the whole brunt of the battle fell on the British. The struggle was tremendous: the loss of life fearful, but by nine o'clock on the evening of the 28th, the French were driven back, and the British, wearied, exhausted, and famishing, with dreadfully shattered ranks, were perfectly unable to follow in pursuit. The nature of the contest between the French and British, all through this war, was strikingly marked by a little incident

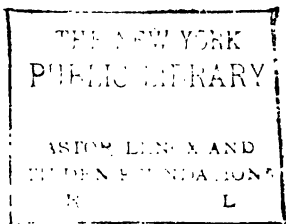


FRIENDLY FOES.

that happened at the battle. A pause occurred during the fight, when the opposing ranks met each other for the purpose



SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY REVIEWING THE SPANISH TROOPS BY TORCH-LIGHT.



of removing their dead, and shook hands like friends and brothers. All through the war, no personal animosity was manifested between the French and British soldiers, while between the former and the natives there was a deadly hatred easy to be accounted for between invaders and invaded.

The British people rejoiced greatly at the intelligence of Talavera. The king, George III., was highly gratified, for it was his jubilee year; the year in which he completed a reign of half a century. What a half century had that been! The United States of America were lost, India was gained, Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope had come under British power, and British Colonies had been planted in Australia and Van Diemen's Land; all Europe had, with one exception, succumbed to the warriors nursed by the French revolution, and that exception was Britain, which, firmly seated in her island home, defied a banded world. Never before had our country boasted of such great names as statesmen and warriors; Burke, the two Pitts, Fox, Nelson, Clive, and Wellesley. The thanks of His Majesty were expressed in warm language, not usually found in official documents. The Commander-in-chief, then the Duke of York, was commanded to say in a dispatch, dated 13th August, 1809:—

“The King, in contemplating so glorious a display of the valour and prowess of his troops, has been graciously pleased to command that his royal approbation of the conduct of the army serving under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley shall be thus publicly declared in General Orders.

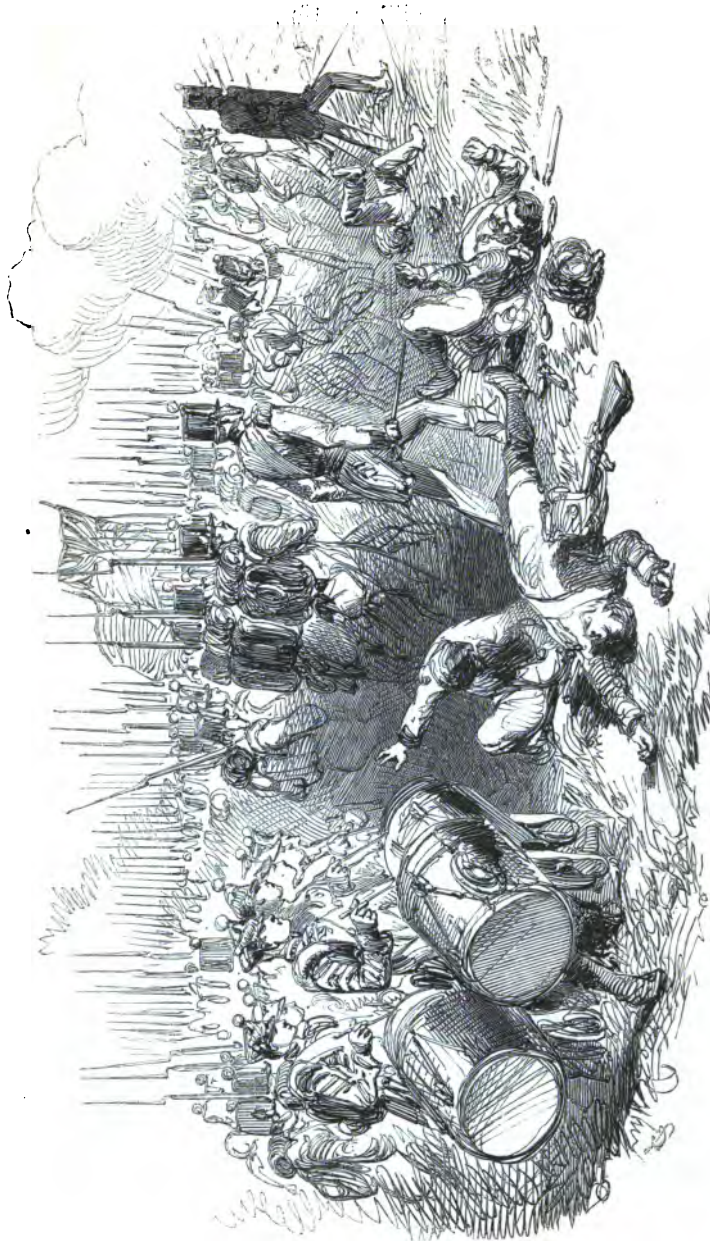
“The Commander-in-Chief has received the King's commands to signify, in the most marked and special manner, the sense his Majesty entertains of Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley's personal services on this memorable occasion, not less displayed in the result of the battle itself, than in the consummate ability, valour, and military resource with which the many difficulties of this arduous and protracted contest were met, and provided for, by his experience and judgment.

“The conduct of Lieutenant-General Sherbrook, second in command, has entitled him to the King’s marked approbation. His Majesty has observed with satisfaction the manner in which he led on the troops to the charge with the bayonet—a species of combat, which, on all occasions, so well accords with the dauntless character of British soldiers.

“His Majesty has noticed with the same gracious approbation the conduct of the several generals and other officers. All have done their duty ; most of them have had occasions of eminently distinguishing themselves, the instances of which have not escaped his Majesty’s attention.

“It is his Majesty’s commands, that his royal approbation and thanks shall be given in the most distinct and most particular manner to the non-commissioned officers and private men. In no instance have they displayed with greater lustre their native valour and characteristic energy, nor have they on any former occasion more decidedly proved their superiority over the inveterate enemy of their country.

“Brilliant, however, as is the victory obtained at Talavera, it is not solely on that occasion that Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the troops under his command, are entitled to his Majesty’s applause. The important service effected in an early part of the campaign by the same army, under the command of the same distinguished General, by the rapid march on the Douro, the passage of that river, the total discomfiture of the enemy, and his expulsion from the territory of one of his Majesty’s ancient and most faithful allies, are circumstances which have made a lasting impression on his Majesty’s mind ; and have induced his Majesty to direct that the operations of this arduous and eventful campaign shall be thus recorded, as furnishing splendid examples of military skill, fortitude, perseverance, and of a spirit of enterprise calculated to produce emulation in every part of his army, and largely to add to the renown and to the military character of the British nation.”



BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

1

The thanks of the King were not confined to words, but on August 26, 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley was raised to the peerage of England, by the title of Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera. Henceforth, therefore, we must call him by the title of Wellington, by which our great hero will descend to posterity.

After the battle of Talavera de la Reyna, Lord Wellington found himself in his usual position of being unable to follow up his victory; otherwise Madrid must very speedily have fallen into his hands. Soult having recruited his forces, was advancing from the north, and might, if not checked, cut off the retreat of the British from Spain. Wellington accordingly left Cuesta, with the Spaniards, in possession of Talavera, and by them it was basely given up to the French under Victor. The British continued to retire until they reached Badajoz, where they arrived in September. Wellington left the army here for some time on a visit to Lisbon, the real though concealed object of which was to plan the famous lines of Torres Vedras. These lines were two in number, one within the other, stretching from the sea near the village from which they take their name, inland for about twenty-five miles, through the Sierra Estrella to the Tagus. Lisbon, the pivot on which all the operations in the Peninsula turned, was thus effectually guarded on all sides. The works were constructed with the utmost rapidity as well as secrecy; so much so, indeed, that it was not till long after they were finished, and Massena was within five days' march of them, that the French knew of their existence at all.

During the winter all offensive operations were suspended. The frontier forts were garrisoned by Portuguese troops, who were also stationed in the principal districts. The French, however, were collecting an immense force in Spain. The number of troops under arms exceeded 350,000; while Napoleon, having humbled Austria, was then in treaty for an alliance with a daughter of the imperial house of Hapsburg.

He had, therefore, both time and troops to devote to the Peninsula, and his great military skill was employed in drawing up the plan of a campaign, the result of which would be the driving of the British entirely from the country. The force intended specially to act against the British was commanded by Massena, and numbered 80,000 men stationed in the valley of the Tagus, from whence they could act with freedom either to the south or the north. The frontier fortresses, Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, soon fell before the French general. Wellington commenced a retreat down the Mondego valley, but stopped in the end of September, 1810, at the heights of Busaco, where he waited with about 30,000 men, to give the enemy battle. The battle was fiercely contested, but when evening came the French were obliged to withdraw. Massena then tried to gain the road between Oporto and Lisbon, whereupon Wellington immediately retreated, driving the population before him, behind the lines of Torres Vedras.

Great was the amazement of the French General when he reached this formidable barrier. All his attempts against the lines proved fruitless, and he then tried to reduce the British by famine. But abundance of provisions were obtained by the troops through Lisbon, and Massena found himself baffled at every point. What a bright oasis of liberty did the space enclosed then present amid the dreary barrenness of conquered Europe! France was under a dictator, with whom Russia was compelled to be on friendly terms; Austria and Prussia were humbled beneath him; and the crowns of Holland, Westphalia, Tuscany, Naples, and Spain he had bestowed on his own relations. His power seemed to be firm and unbounded, but this "little cloud in the west" was destined to break his gigantic power, and shatter to pieces the majestic system he had built up.

Wearied with watching, Massena, in the month of November, retired to Santarem, a town on the Tagus, in the hope of

drawing the British in pursuit. General Hill was sent after him, but on coming up he found the French had no intention of retreating but wished to divide the British, and, if possible, gain the road to Lisbon. With his inferior force, Hill would not risk a battle, and the two armies watched each other for about four months, neither offering to fight. This state of things could not last long with Massena, for he was dependent on the neighbouring unfriendly country for provisions, and with his enormous force and considering how exhausted the country was, his sources of supply were soon diminished, and a retreat, in earnest, was determined on. The British followed, but the fighting was for a long time confined to skirmishes. The line of Massena's retreat was towards Coimbra, and though, as a military operation, it was managed with consummate skill, yet the wanton devastation committed and outrages perpetrated were disgraceful in the highest degree.* His retreat was

* The conduct of the retreating army was thus described by Wellington:—

“I am concerned to be obliged to add to this account that their conduct throughout this retreat has been marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres Novas, Thomar, and Pernes, in which the head-quarters of some of the corps had been for four months, and in which the inhabitants had been invited, by promises of good treatment, to remain, they were plundered, and many of their houses destroyed on the night the enemy withdrew from their position; and they have since burnt every town and village through which they have passed. The convent of Alcobaça was burnt by order from the French head-quarters. The bishop's palace and the whole town of Leyria, in which General Drouet had had his head-quarters, shared the same fate; and there is not an inhabitant of the country of any class or description, who has had any dealing or communication with the French army, who has not had reason to repent of it, and to complain of them. This is the mode in which the promises have been performed and the assurances have been fulfilled, which were held out in the proclamation of the French Commander-in-Chief, in which he told the inhabitants of Portugal that he was not come to make war upon them, but with a powerful army of 110,000 men to drive the English into the sea. It is to be hoped that the example of what has

supported by Ney, and after a disastrous march he joined that Marshal on the other side of the Spanish frontier, near Salamanca, having lost in his luckless campaign, more than one half of those troops who, in the boasting style of Napoleon, were to "drive the British leopards into the sea."

The British army was certainly not at this time in a very high state of discipline. It was composed for the most part of raw recruits, and of drafts from the militia; the moral character of many of the soldiers, from the system of recruiting for the ranks, was necessarily very low, and the temptations to plunder and outrage in a country where the utmost excesses were practised by the enemy, were almost irresistible. The most severe measures had to be adopted by Wellington to check these bad practices, and his general orders indicate the extent of the offence and the severity of the punishment. In one he says:—

"The Commander of the Forces is concerned to have been under the necessity of carrying into execution the determination which he has so long announced, of directing the immediate execution of any soldiers caught plundering; and that a British and a Portuguese soldier have consequently been hanged this day, for plundering in the town of Leyria, where they were, contrary to order, and for this criminal purpose.

"He trusts that this example will deter others from those disgraceful practices in future; and the troops may depend upon it that no instance of the kind will be passed over. They are well fed, and taken care of, and there is no excuse for plunder, which could not be admitted on any account."

Another serious evil was the desertion of British soldiers to the French. Considering how much better paid and clothed

occurred in this country will teach the people of this and of other nations what value they ought to place on such promises and assurances; and that there is no security for life, or for any thing which makes life valuable, excepting in decided resistance to the enemy."—*Wellington Dispatches.*

and fed the British were than the French, this will appear surprising ; but if the unbridled license of the one service be compared with the rigid discipline of the other, it is not wonderful that some of the refuse of society at home who had got into our army should prefer the license to the restraint. In one of his orders Lord Wellington said :—

“The Commander of the Forces is concerned to have received reports from some of the regiments of the desertion of British soldiers to the enemy ; a crime which, in all his experience in the British service, in different parts of the world, was till lately unknown in it ; and the existence of which at the present moment he can attribute only to some false hopes held out to those unfortunate criminal persons.

* * * * *

“However, although the Commander of the Forces laments the fate of the unfortunate soldiers who have committed this crime, he is determined that they shall feel the consequence of it during their lives, and that they shall never return to their friends or their homes.

“He accordingly requests that the commanding officers of regiments from which any soldier has deserted to the enemy will, as soon as possible, send to the Adjutant-General’s office a description of his person, together with an account when he was enlisted with the regiment, where born, and to what parish he belongs, in order that the friends of these soldiers may be made acquainted with the crime which they have committed ; may be prepared to consider them as lost for ever, and may deliver them up to justice in case they should ever return to their native country.”

However severe these measures were, they were doubtless a stern necessity of the time.

While Wellington was lying behind the lines of Torres Vedras, the frontier fortresses were, as already stated, taken by the French ; and now that Massena had been driven out of Portugal, it was necessary that these fortresses should be

regained. Almeida was the first to be attacked : this fortress is situated in Portugal, a few miles from the Spanish boundary, and has always, from its position, been a place of great military importance. Massena, however, urged on by the orders of Napoleon, advanced with about 50,000 men against the British. The two armies met at Fuentes d' Onoro on May 4, 1810. This little village is close on the frontier, being only about ten miles from Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 5th the French attacked, but after a severe struggle they were repulsed. They renewed the battle on the following day, when they were again defeated ; and on the 7th Massena retreated. He was unable to relieve Almeida, but sent orders to the Governor to destroy the fortifications and leave the place, which was accordingly done on May 10.

The next attempt was against Badajoz. This important frontier town is situated on the river Guadiana, opposite the Portuguese town of Elvas, and nearly in the same parallel of latitude as Lisbon. The place was soon invested by the British under Beresford, but the fortifications being of great extent and strength, the siege made little progress. Soult marched from Seville with a large army to relieve it, and Beresford, leaving Badajoz, drew up his force, numbering 30,000 (of whom, however, only one-fourth were British), at Albuera, to resist the French Marshal. Albuera is a small Spanish town, fifteen miles south of Badajoz, through which Soult must pass on his way from Seville. The French arrived on the 16th, and commenced the attack. The Spaniards under Blake were very soon defeated, and a large part of the British force were suddenly attacked in flank by the hussars and lancers of the enemy, and completely overthrown. The French artillery occupied the heights from which the Spaniards had been driven, and made fearful havoc among the British and Portuguese troops. Defeat seemed inevitable, and Beresford prepared to retire, when a young officer, Henry Hardinge (afterwards Governor-General of India, and successor to the

Duke of Wellington as Commander-in-Chief of the British army), ordered some troops up the heights occupied by the French. They advanced in the face of a murderous fire, drove the French from their position, and the day was won. But won at an awful sacrifice of life ; no fewer than 15,000 men were killed or wounded on both sides during a battle that lasted four hours ; that is to say, a man was struck down every second of time !

Soult, feeling keenly his defeat, retired to the south, where he effected a junction with Marshal Marmont, and on their again advancing to relieve Badajoz, Wellington raised the siege, and the garrison under Phillipon was relieved on 18th June, 1811. Wellington then marched against Ciudad Rodrigo, in the month of August. He was followed by Marmont, who effected a junction with the French army in the north, which raised the troops under his command to 60,000 men. After an unsuccessful attack on the British, the French retired, and Ciudad Rodrigo was left to its fate. After remaining quiescent before this fortress for some time, Wellington determined to carry it by assault, and, still further to spread the French, he detached Hill as if to make an attack on Badajoz. Soult was deceived, and withdrew still further from Ciudad Rodrigo, and in January, 1812, preparations for the attack were made.

Ciudad Rodrigo (the city of Roderick,) is situated on a rising ground on the river Agueda. Its fortifications were very strong and it was well provided with all the ammunition of war, and garrisoned by brave troops. The attack was commenced on the 8th January, 1812, and continued for twelve days, the French resisting to the utmost, when, after an awful struggle, the walls were scaled and the town was taken. The soldiers committed fearful excesses after their victory, and, had they not been restrained by the officers, the town would have been utterly destroyed. The whole of Marmont's battering train and an immense quantity of military stores were found

here. Both in the Peninsula and at home the intelligence of the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo was received with the utmost delight. Lord Wellington was raised, in England, to the title of Earl, and a pension of 2000*l.* a year was awarded to him ; while in Spain, he was created Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and in Portugal, Marquis of Torres Vedras.

The only remaining fortress to be reduced was Badajoz. He immediately marched against it. Napoleon, who from Paris, directed all the movements of his armies in the Peninsula, mistook the march of Wellington for an attack on Spain, and Marmont accordingly fell back to protect Madrid. Wellington thus marched unmolested, and arrived before Badajoz in March. The fortress was defended by upwards of 4500 men, and the Governor, Phillipon, was one of the ablest engineers of the day. The fortress fell after an attack and defence conducted with unparalleled bravery. The details we shall not attempt to give. The attack was a scene of the most bloody slaughter, and the possession of the town was followed by the most brutal excesses, which not all the authority of Wellington could for a time repress. The loss on the side of the victors was 5000 men, killed and wounded.

Thus fell all these important frontier fortresses, and the last hour of French dominion in the Peninsula seemed to be drawing nigh. Napoleon was furious when he heard of these successive losses, and heaped on his luckless Marshals all kinds of blame. The French Emperor had then reached the culminating point of his brief and dazzling career, and he might well feel angry at losses which completely destroyed the prestige of the French arms : for he was then, in the beginning of 1812, about to declare war against Russia, and to set out on that expedition which ultimately led to his downfall. Before taking this step he had made overtures of peace to Britain, which were at once rejected, and now, in spite of warning, he left a formidable and successful foe in Spain, to lead half a million of his subjects to die amid Russian snows.



SIEGE OF BADAJOZ.

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CHAPTER VII.

PENINSULA CAMPAIGNS, CONTINUED.

WHILE Wellington was capturing Badajoz, Marmont, finding out the mistake he had made, or rather the blunder Napoleon had compelled him to make, advanced from Salamanca and ravaged the country in the province of Beira, thus threatening the two fortresses of Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, which had been taken with such labour by the British. Leaving a sufficient force to guard Badajoz, Wellington, instead of following Soult to Seville as otherwise he might have done, advanced to the north, to liberate Portugal from Marmont. The French General fell back, and after a great deal of military manœuvring on both sides, the two armies came in sight of each other at Salamanca, on 21st July.

The famous town of Salamanca (which during the middle ages had one of the most learned universities in Europe, to whose sages the proposal of Columbus for the discovery of a new world was referred, and by them ridiculed in 1486,) is situated on the banks of the small river Tormes, a branch of the Deuro. It is now sadly fallen from its ancient state of magnificence, and during its occupation by the French great devastation was committed on the libraries, churches, and other public buildings. Immediately above the city the river becomes forked, and the two chief fords are at Alba de Tormes and Encirras. The Spaniards had been ordered to occupy the castle of Alba de Tormes, so that the retreat of the French by one road might be cut off, and the evacuation of this castle and the neglect of the commanding officer to inform Wellington thereof, caused much annoyance to the British, as

we shall see hereafter. The battle of Salamanca was fought on 22nd July, 1812. It raged with great fury until nightfall, with at first very varied success. The French commander, Marmont, had his arm shattered by a shell, and had to retire, being succeeded by Clausel. The French at length wavered and gave way, though not till after the most determined resistance had been made. The retreat was conducted in the most orderly manner and it, and some of the horrors of the fight, are thus graphically described by Sir William Napier, in his excellent account of the Peninsular War.

“On the side of the British a sheet of flame was seen, sometimes advancing with an even front, sometimes pricking forth in spear heads, now falling back in waving lines, and anon darting upwards in one vast pyramid, the apex of which often approached, yet never gained, the actual summit of the mountain; but the French musketry, rapid as lightning, sparkled along the brow of the height with unvarying fulness, and with what destructive effects the dark gaps and changing shapes of the adverse fire showed too plainly. Yet when Pakenham had again turned the enemy's left, and Foy's division had glided into the forest, Maucune's task was completed, the effulgent crest of the ridge became black and silent, and the whole French army vanished as it were in the darkness.”

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“The hill of La Serna offered a frightful spectacle of the power of the musket, that queen of weapons, and the track of the Germans was marked by their huge bodies. A few minutes only had the combat lasted, and above a hundred had fallen; fifty-one were killed outright; and in several places man and horse had died simultaneously, and so suddenly, that, falling together on their sides they appeared still alive, the horse's legs stretched out as in movement, the rider's feet in the stirrup, his bridle in hand, the sword raised to strike, and the large hat fastened under the chin, giving to the grim, but undistorted countenance, a supernatural and terrible expression.”



BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

Clausel was well aware that the Spaniards had left Alba de Tormes, and he therefore returned by that ford over the river. Wellington, who was ignorant of what the Spaniards had done, pursued in the direction of Encira, and in the darkness of the night the enemy escaped in good order. Napoleon was then in Russia, and six weeks after the disastrous battle of Salamanca, an officer who fought in the action, carried to him the sad intelligence. But Napoleon received it in silence, for on the same day, just when the army was about to fight the battle of Moskwa, another messenger from France had arrived, bringing with him the portrait of Napoleon's son, the unfortunate Duc de Reichstadt, or King of Rome. We are told :—

“The person who brought it supposed that being so near a great battle, Napoleon would put off the opening of the case containing it for some days ; but he had it brought to his tent immediately, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at seeing it. He had it placed on a chair outside his tent, that the officers and soldiers of the guard might take a view of it, and said to those about him, ‘*Gentlemen, if my son were fifteen, believe me he would be here in the midst of so many brave men otherwise than in a picture.*’ ”

Alas ! when that son was fifteen he was a dreaming broken-hearted boy, pining to death in honourable captivity in the palace of his father-in-law at Vienna.

The effects of the victory at Salamanca were immediate and remarkable. Clausel conducted his retreat to Valladolid, and Wellington, sending some native troops after him, marched directly on the capital. The *Marionnette* King Joseph, fled ; the road lay open to the British ; and on the 12th of August Wellington and his victorious troops entered Madrid.

Nothing could equal the enthusiasm with which the British were welcomed into Madrid. The city had suffered severely both from foreign conquest and internal dissensions, and now the brave men who had fought their way from the shores of the Atlantic had arrived as their deliverers. The bells were rung,

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streets illuminated, "flowers and garlands gay" were flung in the path of the soldiers; they were "viva'd" by the men, embraced by the women, and the very infants were brought out to share in the rejoicing. If Wellington could have been intoxicated with fame and homage, the time had come; but he was made of sterner stuff. "Serene alike in calm and danger," our great hero was not to be ruffled by applause or deceived by mere appearances. He found the country in a state of the utmost disorganisation.

In a letter to his brother, written only eleven days after the entry into Madrid, he thus describes the state of affairs:—

"I assure you that I do not at all like the way in which we are going on; and persons here are much dissatisfied with the neglect of them by the Government.

"A month has now elapsed since the battle of Salamanca, and I have not even heard of General Castaños.

"Excepting in this town, where there was no regular authority when I entered it, and when I forced them to proclaim the constitution, and proceed to the elections immediately, these ceremonies have been, as usual, unaccountably delayed; and at Valladolid, Santocildes contrived to delay them till the French came in, and there the constitution has never been proclaimed at all, and the town is still governed by the French authorities.

"I am afraid also that, owing to the usual delays, the French found there their artillery and stores, and, what is particularly to be lamented, their muskets, of which they were much in want, as, even of those who were not wounded in the battle, the greater number threw away their arms afterwards, or during the retreat.

"What can be done for this lost nation? As for raising men or supplies, or taking any one measure to enable them to carry on the war, that is out of the question. Indeed, there is nobody to excite them to exertion, or to take advantage of the enthusiasm of the people, or of their enmity against the



ENTRY INTO MADRID.

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French. Even the guerrillas are getting quietly into the large towns, and amusing themselves, or collecting plunder of a better and more valuable description; and nobody looks forward to the exertions to be made, whether to improve or to secure our advantage.

“This is a faithful picture of the state of affairs; and though I still hope to be able to maintain our position in Castile, and even to improve our advantages, I shudder when I reflect upon the enormity of the task which I have undertaken, with inadequate powers myself to do any thing, and without assistance of any kind from the Spaniards, or I may say, from any individual of the Spanish nation.

* * * * *

“I am apprehensive that all this will turn out but ill for the Spanish cause. If, for any cause, I should be overpowered, or should be obliged to retire, what will the world say? What will the people of England say? What will those in Spain say? That we had made a great effort, attended by some glorious circumstances; and that from January, 1812, we had gained more advantages for the cause, and had acquired more extent of territory by our operations than had ever been gained by any army in the same period of time, against so powerful an enemy; but that, being unaided by the Spanish officers and troops, not from disinclination, but from inability on account of the gross ignorance of the former, and the want of discipline of the latter, and from the inefficiency of all the persons selected by the government for great employment, we were at last overpowered, and compelled to withdraw within our own frontier.

“What will be Lord Castlereagh’s reply to the next proposition for peace? Not that we will not treat if the government of Joseph is to be the guaranteed government; but he will be too happy to avail himself of any opportunity of withdrawing with honour from a contest in which it will be manifest that, owing to the inability of those employed to carry it on on the part of the Spaniards, there is no prospect of military success. Thus

this great cause will be lost, and this nation will be enslaved for the want of men at their head capable of conducting them."

Napoleon and his grand army were before the ruins of the burned city of Moscow, when the intelligence of the fall of Madrid came. Terrible as was the blow, yet it could scarcely increase the gloom of the Emperor's situation. By the Russians, who then, under Kutusoff, lay at no great distance from the French, the intelligence was received with great joy, and the report of salutes fired in their lines in honour of the event, sounded dolefully on the ears of the French.

And here many a future historian will doubtless pause to contrast the conduct of the people of the two countries, Spain and Russia, invaded by Napoleon. Whether as regards the physical situation of their territories, the moral character of their people, or the capacity of their rulers, no contrast could be more marked or striking. Russia, lying in the extreme north and east of Europe, with a poor soil and an icy climate, might be said to be just emerging from barbarism, while Spain in the extreme south and west of Europe, with a fruitful soil and a splendid climate, was retrograding as fast as Russia was advancing. She had once been second to none of the nations of Europe; she had filled a large place in the world's history, and every spot on her surface was linked with history or tradition: Russia had few such advantages: *her* glory lay in the future; that of Spain was buried in the past. The Spaniards intrigued with the invaders, made their own petty jealousies subordinate to the interests of their country, and hampered and thwarted in every conceivable way the efforts and energies of men like Moore and Wellington, who came to them as deliverers. Not a man in Russia intrigued with the invader; they were appealed to in the names of patriotism and religion, and they nobly answered the call; raw and undisciplined though they were, they did not retreat before the foe like the Spaniards, but were shot down in masses on the native soil they refused to give up. No sacrifice was too great; Moscow

was burned by order of its inhabitants to thwart and restrain the enemy ; when would the Spaniards have burned Madrid ? Alexander, a man of energy and resolution, led the Russians, but it was an imbecile Charles, a weak Ferdinand, and an incapable Cortes, that attempted to lead the Spaniards. Russia would accept no foreign aid, but Spain did, and was ungrateful. Russia was delivered by the bravery of her own sons ; Spain by the bravery of the British army under Wellington.

The disastrous results of having the Peninsular armies under more than one leader had already been too apparent, and even the Spaniards were at last made sensible that it was ruinous policy, and Wellington was somewhat tardily appointed Commander-in-chief of their forces. Had he been a mere carpet knight, he might have rested in luxury at Madrid, lulled into security by the applause and flattery of the people. But he felt his position extremely insecure. His own resources were small ; those of the country had been drained, and the French were gathering strength in the north and east. Madrid is a long way from the Pyrenees, and beyond the Pyrenees the French had to be driven. Lord Wellington, therefore, determined to quit Madrid, and open a campaign in the north. He left on September 1st, 1812, and two days before his departure he issued a proclamation to the people of Spain, which will show how thoroughly he understood the actual position of affairs, and how determined he was that the French should not long remain on Spanish soil :—

“ Much remains still to be done to consolidate and secure the advantages acquired. It should be clearly understood that the pretended King is an usurper, whose authority it is the duty of every Spaniard to resist ; that every Frenchman is an enemy, against whom it is the duty of every Spaniard to raise his arm.

“ Spaniards ! you are reminded that your enemies cannot much longer resist ; that they must quit your country if you will only omit to supply their demands for provisions and money, when those demands are not enforced by superior

force. Let every individual consider it his duty to do every thing in his power to give no assistance to the enemy of his country, and that perfidious enemy must soon entirely abandon in disgrace a country which he entered only for the sake of plunder, and in which he has been enabled to remain only because the inhabitants have submitted to his mandates, and have supplied his wants.

“Spaniards! resist this odious tyranny, and be independent and happy.”

His first attempt was against Burgos, a considerable city, capital of the province of the same name, and celebrated as the birth-place of the famous Cid. It possessed a strong castle, in which the French had left a garrison of 2500 men, amply supplied with provisions, and as thoroughly provided with all the means of defence as Wellington's army was deficient in the means of attack. It was very doubtful whether the castle could then be reduced, but Wellington made the attempt. The siege was continued for several weeks, but so determined was the defence, that the siege was raised in the beginning of October. This want of success caused considerable indignation at home. The “gentlemen who sit at home at ease” could not then, as in truth they cannot even now, understand why British soldiers could not succeed in everything they undertook. Every man who read a newspaper thought he could have done better than even Wellington had done. The reasons given by the great commander himself, with his usual directness and force, were convincing enough:—

“The troops ought to have carried the exterior line by escalade on the first trial on the 22nd of September, and if they had, we had means sufficient to take the place. They did not take the line, because the field officer who commanded did that which is too common in our army: he paid no attention to his orders, notwithstanding the pains I took in writing them, and in reading and explaining them to him twice over. He made none of the dispositions ordered; and instead of

regulating the attack as he ought, he rushed on as if he had been the leader of a forlorn hope, and fell, together with many of those who went with him. He had my instructions in his pocket, and as the French got possession of his body, and were made acquainted with the plan, the attack could never be repeated. When he fell, nobody having received orders what to do, nobody could give any to the troops. I was in the trenches, however, and ordered them to withdraw. Our time and ammunition were then expended, and our guns destroyed in taking this line ; than which at former sieges we had taken many stronger by assault.

“ I see that a disposition already exists to blame the government for the failure of the siege of Burgos. The government had nothing to say to the siege. It was entirely my own act. In regard to means, there were ample means both at Madrid and at Santander for the siege of the strongest fortress. That which was wanting at both places was means of transporting ordnance and military stores to the place where it was desirable to use them.

“ The people of England, so happy as they are in every respect, so rich in resources of every description, having the use of such excellent roads, &c., will not readily believe that important results here frequently depend upon fifty or sixty mules, more or less, or a few bundles of straw to feed them ; but the fact is so, notwithstanding their incredulity.”

After this unsuccessful attempt, the French appeared in such force that Wellington deemed it prudent to retreat to Salamanca, and there rest his troops, with the intention of commencing fresh operations in the beginning of 1813.

Up to the month of May, in that year, Wellington was employed in strengthening his army. His reverses, as the failure of the attack on Burgos and the retreat to Salamanca were considered at home, were made the subjects of party warfare in both Houses of Parliament, on the motion to present him with a vote of thanks, and an additional annuity of

£2000 a year, to extend to the third generation. The Earl of Liverpool was then at the head of the ministry, and the Whigs, led by Earl Grey, were in opposition. The ministers were severely and justly blamed for not sending sufficient reinforcements to the seat of war, and though they carried their resolutions through both Houses, yet they were induced, by the discussions that had taken place, to send considerable additions to the Peninsular forces. These and other reinforcements soon raised the troops under Wellington's command to nearly 200,000 men, the largest and best appointed force that had been arrayed against the French power during the war.

The troops commenced to march on May 22, 1813, and it was not until they reached Vittoria that the enemy gave them battle. Vittoria is situated at the foot, on the southern side, of the mountain range of the Asturias, and is distant little more than 60 miles from Bayonne in France, and about 400 from the point of the Peninsula where Wellington had first landed. Thus under the greatest disadvantages, with forces inferior in numbers and discipline, with few resources, with his friends divided among themselves, he had driven the French across the entire Peninsula almost to their own frontier town. The French were now commanded by Joseph and Marshal Jourdan, for Soult and Ney had both been withdrawn for service on the other side of Europe. Here, therefore, at Vittoria the Emperor's soldiers made their grand stand on the Spanish soil; if defeated, they must retreat to Bayonne; if victorious, Spain might still be their own.

The forces met on the 20th, and for the first time the French were in a minority. Their legions were dispirited, and they were encumbered by enormous baggage, containing the spoils of their occupation of Spain. The battle lasted nearly the whole of the 21st; and on the 22nd Wellington was "happy to inform your Lordship (Lord Bathurst) that the allied army under my command gained a complete victory, having driven them all from their positions, having taken from



WELLINGTON AND HIS STAFF.

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them 151 pieces of cannon, waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c., and a considerable number of prisoners." The enemy fled in the direction of Bayonne, and the plunder that was taken was enormous; jewellery, splendid chariots, magnificent pictures and other works of art, were scattered about in great profusion; in fact, everything of value that could be carried away from Madrid and the palace of the Escorial. In addition to this there was an immense quantity of specie, the greater part of which disappeared among the soldiers. Among the trophies was the Marshal's baton of Jourdan.

It was not in Spain alone that the mighty effects of this victory were felt. On the other side of the Rhine Napoleon had arrayed against him Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, with formidable armies burning to avenge their country's wrongs. Even more ominous still, in their ranks was, high in command, the old dauntless republican general, Moreau, who had during the days of republican France fought and won the fierce battle of Hohenlinden, and the armies of Sweden were led by Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's old Marshals, but now Crown Prince of that country. Britain was aiding these allies by enormous subsidies of money. The power of deciding which side should succeed in the approaching tremendous and, as it appeared, final struggle, was in the hands of Austria, who had 100,000 men under arms, which the Emperor was ready to cast "into the balance of the power which he may regard, without respect to the immense complications of the moment, as his natural ally." Whatever hesitation Austria may have had was removed by the intelligence of Vittoria. She joined the allied powers, and Napoleon found himself with his armies driven from Spain; and France threatened with invasion on the side of the Pyrenees, obliged single-handed to defend himself against Europe, in arms from the White Sea to the Danube, and from the Ural mountains to the Rhine.

The great Emperor's hour had come!

CHAPTER VIII.

VITTORIA TO WATERLOO.

THE honours conferred on Wellington after the battle of Vittoria were numerous and important. He was made a knight of the garter, as he had formerly been of the bath, and he received, from the Prince Regent himself, a highly complimentary letter, in which, among other expressions, occurred these words: "You have sent me among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French Marshal [that of Jourdan], and I send you in return, that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it." At the same time a large estate in Granada was offered to him in the name and with the gratitude of the people of Spain.

As soon as Napoleon heard of the defeat of his troops at Vittoria he sent Soult to take the command, with the title of "Lieutenant of the Emperor" of all the French troops in the Peninsula and the south of France. His orders were to make one last tremendous effort for driving out the British and re-establishing the French power. Had the British been the only enemies the French had to encounter, there was some probability that the struggle would have ended disastrously to the former, for Soult collected 70,000 effective men at Bayonne, and Suchet had 60,000 equally effective, in Catalonia and Valencia, while the whole allied army did not exceed 100,000 men. But the entire people of the Peninsula were opposed to the French, and the result of the struggle could not be long doubtful.

Two important frontier fortresses remained in the hands of the French ; San Sebastian and Pampeluna. The former is a sea-port on the Bay of Biscay, near Fonterabia ; it is built on a low sandy peninsula near the mouth of a river, but is protected by a very strong fortress and by a steep precipitous rock, rising on one side of the town to a height of four hundred feet. The other town, Pampeluna, is also very strongly fortified. It has been a place of great importance since the early days of Rome, having derived its name, we are told, from the famous general, Pompey. Both fortresses were immediately invested, but it was considered desirable to reduce them by blockade rather than siege. These places, unless speedily relieved by the French, must soon surrender, as the British could intercept all the sea communications of San Sebastian and the neighbourhood of both towns was occupied by the allied troops, so that all sources of supply were effectually cut off.

These fortresses having been invested, the allied army occupied the chief passes and posts of the Pyrenees, and overlooked like an ominous thundercloud, the southern portions of France, that had seen no powerful invading armies for many centuries. At this time Wellington had again to suffer from the paltry intrigues and petty squabbles of the miserable and incapable Spanish Cortes, who were only brought to their senses by his threat of resignation.

Soult, when he joined the army, issued an address to his soldiers in the pompous style employed by Napoleon. It was full of high hopes, and at the same time, of unworthy abuse of Joseph and Jourdan. All the disasters of the army were attributed to the generals ; the soldiers were exonerated from all blame, and exhorted to " let the account of our success be dated from Vittoria, and the birth of his Imperial Majesty be celebrated in that city ; so shall we render memorable, an epoch deservedly dear to all Frenchmen." On the day after this address was issued, Soult made a desperate attempt to

force the passes of the Pyrenees. His army was drawn out in line in the low ground at the foot of the British positions, but suddenly concentrating his forces he made a dash at the pass of Roncesvalles, intending to relieve both Pampehna and San Sebastian. The British at first gave way, but when their forces became united the French were driven back. These attacks were continued with extraordinary valour for nearly a week, and are known as "the battles of the Pyrenees," in which the French forces were driven back to their old position, frightfully weakened and dispirited; no relief had been given to the frontier fortresses; and on the 1st of August, 1813, at eight o'clock in the evening, Wellington had the proud satisfaction of writing "I imagine there are none of the enemy in Spain this night."*

While Soult was recruiting his shattered forces on the other side of the Pyrenees, the siege of San Sebastian was pushed forward with great vigour. The arrival of fresh supplies, especially of a battering train, soon enabled the British to make an assault, and they took the place on the 11th September, after a scene of blood, carnage, devastation, and fury as has

* A little anecdote, giving a slight glimpse into the interior life of these battles, was recently related to us by an officer who served faithfully at Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and elsewhere. A portion of his regiment was stationed on the slope of a pass, up which the French were advancing in overwhelming force. A body of Highlanders were posted on the other side, and the men were lying down and firing sideways at the advancing foe. The shots of the enemy fell fast and thick, and so many junior officers fell in succession that it soon came to the turn of this officer to take charge of the regimental colours. Among the ensigns, who had fallen while holding the colours tattered and torn in many a fight, was a youth who had just joined from England, the hope of a widowed mother. It was known that he had a valuable gold watch, a present from her, and one of the officers suddenly exclaimed, "Let us take care of —'s watch." The watch was found beating quietly and regularly on the dead body amid the tumult that reigned around, and the officer had the melancholy satisfaction of returning it to the mother of the poor ensign.

seldom been witnessed. After the siege, the conduct of the troops was worse even than at Badajoz ; greater scenes of iniquity could not have been committed by fiends let loose from Hell ; some officers who tried to restrain them were killed by their own men, and the town was burned to the ground. The horrors of such sieges have happily been known only by report, for centuries, to the British people. Soult made one effort to relieve San Sebastian, but he was defeated with considerable loss, at San Marcial, chiefly by the Spanish troops. The tide of fortune had everywhere turned against the French ! Immediately after Wellington invaded France, he beat Soult in a pitched battle at Nivelle, and in November his army was near Bayonne, and they were soon put into winter quarters in the rich district lying on the French side of the Pyrenees.

But beyond the Rhine the star of the Emperor had almost set. He had just lost (November, 1813,) the fatal battle of Leipsic, and the road to France lay open to the soldiers of eastern Europe. Some of his bravest Marshals had disappeared ; Lannes died at Wagram, telling Napoleon with his dying breath unpalatable truths which the Emperor disregarded, but which proved to be "too true ;" Duroc had died by Napoleon's side at Dresden, and the sad blow had made the Emperor unfit for business all that day ; Bernadotte was in arms against him : Murat had *once* deserted him in danger ; and other Marshals were in disgrace for want of success. His own father-in-law was at war with him ; the French people were weary of him and of war, and in fact the Great Emperor stood almost alone.

But in that dread hour his calmness, courage, and resolution never forsook him. He laid the whole state of affairs, clearly and without reserve, before his council, and concluded by saying "Why should we fear to speak the truth ? Has not Wellington invaded the south ? Do not the Russians menace the north ? And the nation will not rise *en masse* to chase them away ! Every one speaks of peace when all should resound with the cry of war. Never talk of peace till I have burned Munich !"

France was not then a nation to rise *en masse*. The spirit of the revolution was broken ; long conscriptions had taken away the flower of the people, and wearied of war, since it did not bring new glory, she was glad, as she has too often been, to change masters on very slight grounds. Many of the people of France, in the south, were ready to rise, not for Napoleon, but for the Bourbons, and already Wellington had received a communication from the Duc de Berri, offering to join him with 20,000 men, who were ready to rise in the south of France if he would proclaim the Bourbons. But Wellington returned a characteristic reply, that the British government had recognised Napoleon, and he must wait for orders from home.

The two armies in the south of France remained quiet until the beginning of 1814. Wellington then marched against Soult, defeating him everywhere, until on the 10th of April he encountered Soult at Toulouse, when after two days' hard fighting the French general withdrew.

This defeat virtually concluded the campaign, for Napoleon, after a series of movements in the east of France, in which he displayed more skill than during any other campaign, had before the battle of Toulouse been overwhelmed by numbers ; the allied armies had entered Paris, and the Emperor had abdicated at Fontainebleau.

And now the war was over, and all Europe breathed freely. The British infantry left France, and while a portion were sent home the remainder were dispatched to America, with the United States of which we were then at war. The cavalry travelled through France, and reached England by way of Calais. Louis XVIII. was proclaimed King of France, and Ferdinand VII. King of Spain, and both monarchs immediately assumed their crowns. Meanwhile Wellington was advanced to the dignity of Duke, and a sum of half a million was presented to him. After a short visit to Paris where he was received with great honour by the allied sovereigns, he left for Madrid to give counsel to the King and government there.

It was certainly needed, for Ferdinand was acting in a manner likely to make his reign more unhappy to his people and inglorious to himself than even that of Joseph. The first political act of Napoleon in Spain was to *abolish* the Inquisition ; the first act of Ferdinand was to *restore* it. There lay the essential difference between the two systems, and truly the advantage was by no means on the side of Ferdinand. The Duke did not remain long in Madrid, but while there he drew up some able memoranda for the guidance of Ferdinand.

On the 23rd of June, 1814, he arrived at Dover. He had been absent from his native land for more than five years ; his great deeds during that time had occupied a large share of the attention and pleasure of his countrymen, and he was welcomed back with the greatest and most genuine demonstrations of delight. The allied sovereigns had come to England on a visit to the Prince Regent, and they and the Prince were then witnessing a naval review at Portsmouth. Thither the Duke immediately proceeded, and his journey and reception were of the most enthusiastic kind. On the 28th of June he appeared in the House of Lords for the first time to take his seat in that august assembly. Never in the history of England had a peer taken his seat under such circumstances. He had left England a member of the Lower House, and he now returned, after a lapse of little more than five years, holding the highest rank in the peerage that could be conferred on a subject. The clerk of the House read his various patents of nobility, extending in one unbroken chain from the lowest to the highest ; Baron, Viscount, Earl, Marquis, and Duke ! Having taken the oaths and his seat, the Duke was addressed by the Lord Chancellor, the famous Lord Eldon, in a short speech, in which the Chancellor seemed utterly at a loss what to say from the greatness and grandness of his subject. With good taste he said :—

“ I decline all attempts to state your Grace’s eminent merits in your military character ; to represent those brilliant actions,

those illustrious achievements, which have attached immortality to the name of Wellington, and which have given to this country a degree of glory unexampled in the annals of this kingdom. In thus acting, I believe I best consult the feelings which evince your Grace's title to the character of a truly great and illustrious man."

And he concluded by moving—

"That the thanks of this House be given to Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, on his return from his command abroad, for his eminent and unremitting service to his Majesty and to the public."

The Duke made a very short reply; he too was at a loss for words; and was "entirely overcome by the honours which have been conferred upon me;" and concluded by saying, "I can only assure your Lordships that you will always find me ready to serve his Majesty to the utmost of my ability in any capacity in which my services can be at all useful to this great country."

This scene in the House of Lords, so grand and imposing, so unprecedented in its character, and so honourable to the Duke, was witnessed by the Countess of Mornington, the mother, and the Duchess of Wellington, the wife of the Duke. Justly proud indeed must they have been on that great day. Thirty-four dark years of widowhood had passed over the Countess's head, all now compensated for in the happiness of that day. What a son her Arthur had been!

The House of Commons also voted thanks to the Duke, and sent a deputation to convey it; but the Duke preferred to answer it at the bar of that House, which he did in a few well-chosen sentences, and was answered in fitting terms by the Speaker.*

* A little incident, a mere point of etiquette, in connection with this vote of thanks, is worth noting, as showing how jealously the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland guard their privileges; all the time the Duke spoke the Speaker of the House, intentionally of course, *sat with his hat on*.

Nor were the Duke's companions in arms forgotten in the national gratitude. Sir Thomas Graham was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Lynedoch, and Hill and Beresford were also created peers, in each case of course with suitable pensions; and other honours were liberally bestowed in the army.

The Duke was appointed Ambassador to Paris, where he remained till the beginning of 1815. He was then sent to take the place of Lord Castlereagh at the congress that had been sitting at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe. The proceedings of this congress went on so slowly that little progress was made. The most ridiculous disputes occurred, especially among the petty German princes, and all concerned seemed more bent on pleasure than organizing Europe. An event however occurred which soon broke up the congress; on the 7th of March, 1815, the Duke of Wellington received a despatch giving an account that Buonaparte "had quitted the island of Elba, with all his civil and military officers, and about 1200 troops, on the 26th of February. I immediately communicated this account to the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and to the King of Prussia, and to the ministers of the different powers, and I found among all one prevailing sentiment, of a determination to unite their efforts to support the system established by the peace of Paris."*

The allied powers immediately published a declaration of "war to the knife" against Napoleon. The exile of Elba had meanwhile reached Paris; the army had declared in his favour, and once more he assumed the imperial crown. A continental war seemed again unavoidable; but the allies made such extraordinary preparations as rendered it highly probable that the war would not be of long continuance. A force, amounting in the aggregate to nearly three quarters of a million of men, would very soon be ready to attack France and restore the Bourbons. On the 28th of March Wellington was appointed

* Wellington Despatches.

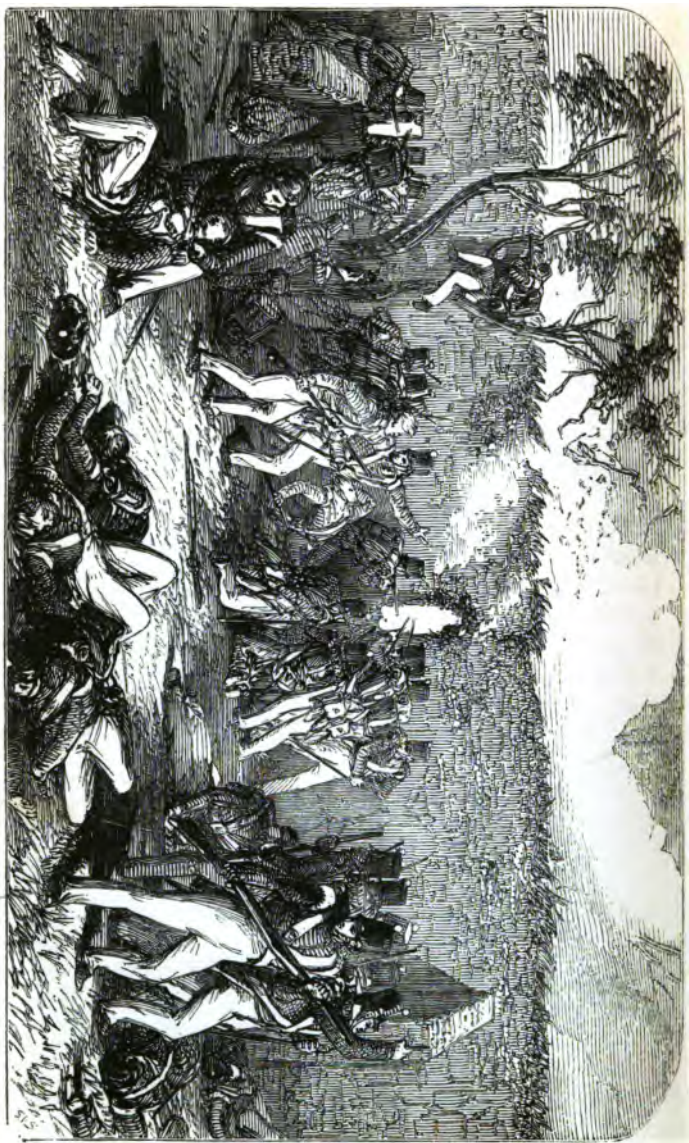
Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the Netherlands. These did not amount to 80,000 men, and consisted of a very heterogeneous mass. The best of the British troops, the soldiers who had been inured to war in the hard-fought fields of the Peninsula, had been sent to America; and the mass under Wellington's command consisted of many different nations, who did not know each other's language, and thousands of whom had never been in action before. This force was quartered in the neighbourhood of Brussels; Blucher, with above 100,000 Prussians, occupied the country round Namur, Liège, and Charleroi. In June the French forces appeared in Belgium to the number of 150,000, and advanced rapidly against Brussels, the object of the Emperor evidently being to detach the British from the Prussians, and beat the one army before the other could come up.

After several skirmishes, driving in of outposts, &c., the two armies of Napoleon and Wellington came in sight of each other on the field of Waterloo on the 18th of June. Of this battle, that has been so well and so often described, our limits permit us to give only the briefest account. The 18th of June was on a Sunday; it had rained incessantly the whole of the previous evening: both parties encamped on the cold wet ground, and next morning both were, as may be supposed, rather dejected and out of spirits. The fields were covered with beautiful crops of rye, that were soon trodden under foot. The British troops occupied a strong position, commanding the two roads to Brussels from Nivelles and Gemappe. These roads formed a junction in the rear of the British, and were continued as one through the forest of Soignies. In the event of defeat this was the only road by which Wellington could retire, and for this rashness he has been often condemned. In a military point of view, perhaps, he has been justly condemned; the fact, however, that he did *not* retreat renders a discussion of this question a mere waste of time. The three turning-points of his position were Hougomont, an old mansion



ATTACK OF LA HAYE SAINTE.

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DEFENCE OF HOUGOUMONT.

near the road from Nivelles ; La Haye Sainte, a farm-house on the road from Gemappes ; and Mont St. Jean, a rising ground near where the two roads to Brussels joined.

The French had no such points of defence, but were spread out over the field, occupying the villages of Planchemont and La Belle Alliance. The fighting began about half-past 10, when Jerome Buonaparte with 12,000 men made an attack on Hougomont, but he was repulsed with great slaughter. Mont St. Jean and La Haye Sainte were then assailed, but on the former no impression was made ; La Haye Sainte was three times taken and retaken, and at last it was possessed by the French, but they were soon driven out by shot and shell. The rest of the battle consisted of a series of tremendous assaults on the part of the French resisted with determination and success by the British. This continued until nightfall. Victory had declared itself on neither side, and the tremendous waste of human life had scarcely changed the position of the two armies. Wellington was anxiously waiting for the Prussians to come up, and Napoleon was equally impatient for the arrival of Grouchy, one of his Marshals, who ought to have appeared during the day with from 30 to 40,000 men. At last the sound of the cannon fell upon the ear ; it was Blücher with the Prussians. Napoleon then ordered the charge of the Old Guard, under Ney (the unfailing signal that the battle was speedily to be lost or won). Onward they came, the old warriors that had earned the title of "Invincible," led on by "the Bravest of the Brave ;" but they melted like snow before the sun under the withering fire and bayonet charge of the British infantry. At this crisis Wellington ordered the advance of all his reserved troops ; the cry was "Up Guards, and at them !"* and in a very short time the French were forced back on every side, and the battle of Waterloo was won !

* The belief that the Duke used this expression at Waterloo is so general that the phrase has become proverbial. The following anecdote respecting it is related in "Jerdan's Autobiography :"—"It was mooted

The loss on both sides was estimated at about 50,000 men ; and when the Duke rode through the field, after all was over, by the light of the moon the spectacle was horrible and appalling.

Few battles have ever been made the subject of more discussion than this of Waterloo. The French declare that by all the rules of war Wellington was beaten, but he would not retreat. This assertion is perfectly absurd. No army can be beaten so long as it keeps its ground, and repels every attack made against it. If otherwise, what does victory mean? Again, it is said that the British would have been defeated if the Prussians had not come up ; that the French would have been victorious if Grouchy had obeyed his orders, and a hundred other ifs and surmises have been invented to show what might have been. To us the only thing of importance is the result ; and that result was, that Napoleon was utterly routed, his power irretrievably broken, and peace restored to the whole Continent of Europe. For this the Continent of Europe was unquestionably indebted to the Duke of Wellington and the British army. Well has our great northern poet said :—

Yes ! Agincourt may be forgot,
And Cressy be an unknown spot,
And Blenheim's name be new ;
But still in story and in song,
For many an age remembered long,
Shall live the towers of Hougomont,
And field of Waterloo.

in the Duke of Wellington's presence whether the action to be imparted to his statue should not represent the moment when his cry, 'Up boys and at 'em !' roused his troops to their last irresistible and victorious charge. 'Up boys and at 'em !' replied the Duke, 'I never could have said any such thing. I remember very well that I caused them to lie down for shelter behind a rising ground, and by that means saved many of their lives ; but 'Up boys and at 'em !' is all nonsense."



WELLINGTON'S VISIT TO WATERLOO BY MOONLIGHT, AFTER THE BATTLE.

NEW YORK
JAN 11 1900

CHAPTER IX.

OPENING OF WATERLOO BRIDGE.—STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES.—TRIAL OF THE QUEEN.—WELLINGTON AT AIX LA CHAPELLE AND VERONA.

WE must pass very rapidly over the next four years of the Duke's life ; they were marked by few events of any importance. According to the treaty of Paris, France was to be occupied by an armed force, and the command of this was given to the Duke of Wellington. His influence undoubtedly prevented many excesses into which even the generals of the allied forces were ready to plunge. For Wellington knew that France must still be regarded as an independent country, and he had no hatred, such as the continental generals had, against France for devastating and plundering his own country.

In his "History of the Restoration" Capefigue pays the following tribute to the Duke of Wellington for his conduct towards France :—

" Sufficient justice has not generally been done to the Duke of Wellington for the liberal and faithful manner in which he protected the interests of France throughout all the negotiations with foreign powers. He was highly favourable to France in all things relating to the evacuation of her territory by the army of occupation. As Commander-in-Chief of that army his advice had great weight ; he was consulted at every step, and his opinion was always given in terms expressive of an elevation of view and sentiment which did honour to his character. With the withdrawal of the army of occupation the Duke would lose a great position in France, and one which made him in some sort a member of the Government ; he would also lose an appointment of great pecuniary value ; and

besides, he knew that the opinion of Lord Castlereagh and of a large portion of the English aristocracy was that the continuance of that army was necessary. These interests, however, did not check him ; he was of opinion that such a measure of precaution ought to cease, seeing not only that France had discharged her stipulated engagements, but that her Government appeared now to be firmly established." It was chiefly through his influence that the army was withdrawn.

In 1817 the Duke was called to be present in London at a ceremony highly honourable and gratifying to him. The want of a bridge over the Thames between Westminster and Blackfriars had long been felt, and a splendid bridge, 1242 feet long, with nine noble arches, was built by Mr. Rennie, to connect the Strand with the Surrey shore. This bridge was finished and opened on June 18, 1817, the Prince Regent, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Wellington being present ; and in honour of the day the bridge was named Waterloo, and in honour of the hero of the day the street by which it is approached on the Middlesex side was named Wellington. Shortly after, the estate of Strathfieldsaye was purchased by Parliament, and presented to the Duke. In February, 1818, while the Duke was in Paris, an attempt was made to assassinate him by a Frenchman named Cantillon. This attempt most fortunately proved unsuccessful. The assassin was tried, but acquitted ; and Napoleon, in the very last codicil to his will, bequeathed to this man Cantillon the sum of ten thousand francs !* In September of that year the Duke

* Lest the admirers of the great Emperor should be inclined to dispute this fact, so dishonourable to his memory, we subjoin the bequest referred to. It is dated Longwood, April 24, 1821.

"5. Item. Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer, Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that *oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington,

proceeded to Aix La Chapelle to take part in a general congress assembled there. The town of Aix La Chapelle, formerly the capital and residence of the great Charlemagne, never presented, even in his imperial days, such a spectacle as



STRATHFIELDSAYE.

it did in 1818. Nearly all the crowned heads of Europe were there, either in person or by deputy ; the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia were present ; Britain was represented by Wellington and Castlereagh, and France by the Duke of Richelieu. Other persons were there on very miscellaneous business : the singer Madame Catalini ; the painter Sir Thomas Lawrence ; the philanthropist, Thomas

who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify it by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have pleaded the same excuse, and been justified by the same motive—the interest of France—to get rid of this general, who, moreover, by violating the capitulation of Paris, had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs Ney, Labedoyère, &c., and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.”

¶ Napoleon should have died at Waterloo.

Clarkson, trying to persuade the Emperor Alexander to declare in favour of the abolition of slavery; and the socialist, Robert Owen, fresh from his "new moral world" on the banks of the Clyde, endeavouring to show to the Czar of all the Russias that all the world had always been and were still acting on the most erroneous principles and plans! The congress was dissolved in October, the treaty having been signed on the 9th; and at that congress the Duke of Wellington was made a Field Marshal in the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies, and also a Knight of the first class of the French order of the Holy Ghost. The Duke immediately returned to England, and in December he was appointed Master General of the Ordnance.

As the Duke is now and henceforth, through our brief history, to appear in the character of a statesman, we may here advert briefly to the political and social state of the country at that period. The old King, George III., whose reign had extended through such a stormy time, was still alive at Windsor, but so deeply afflicted, both physically and mentally, as to be completely unable to discharge any duty whatever. The royal authority had been transferred to the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV.; his brother, the Duke of York, was still Commander-in-Chief of the forces. The same ministry who had held office during the Peninsular War was in power, with the Earl of Liverpool at its head. This ministry held old Tory principles, contained few men of great talents, and was most decidedly opposed to all measures of reform or retrenchment. Its great support in the House of Lords was Lord Chancellor Eldon, a judge whose slowness in deciding cases has become as proverbial as his profound knowledge of law. The Chancellor looked on the constitution with the same feeling of reverence as it was regarded by the great military Duke. Both considered it, down even to its minute details, as something sacred; that must not be touched or altered, scarcely even discussed. But on the opposition benches in the

Lords sat some powerful chiefs of the great Whig party, who had already given warning of the necessity of reforms to meet the advancing spirit of the age and the growing wants of the people. Grey, Grenville, Holland, and Lansdowne had already raised their voices in that cause which they afterwards conducted to so successful an issue. But the state of parties and of popular feeling was, as usual, more clearly indicated in the Lower than the Upper House. The ministerial leader in the Commons was Lord Castlereagh, he who as Secretary for Ireland had managed, with the most consummate tact and ability, the Irish Union, and who had since taken a leading part in arranging the affairs of the continent. He was supported by Mr. Vansittart, who made an excellent Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by Mr. Peel (afterwards the great Sir Robert), who was then Secretary for Ireland. On the Treasury benches also sat the present Lord Palmerston and William Huskisson, by the latter of whom the great work of commercial reform was begun, which his then coadjutor Mr. Peel was to bring to so successful a close. The virtual, though certainly not the recognised, leader of the opposition, was Henry Brougham, who was then in the full vigour of his marvellous powers; exposing every abuse with fearless courage, doing his parliamentary work with extraordinary energy, and raising the hopes of the nation by his opinions about reform in the law and the representation, the abolition of slavery, and the education of the people. Ponsonby, once Chancellor for Ireland, was in opposition as the recognised leader, but he wanted energy. Francis Horner, one of the pillars of the "Edinburgh Review," was there, with his clear and sound opinions on the currency; and among the youngest members opposite the Treasury bench sat Lord John Russell.

The nation was certainly neither prosperous nor good-tempered. After the first noisy demonstrations of joy at the successful issue of the war were past, a dreadful reaction came. The awful amount to which the national debt

had been increased, and the proportionate interest, seemed overwhelming ; the ports of Europe opened to British goods were overstocked ; trade and commerce declined ; the farmers were complaining, and their complaints gave rise to the Corn Law of 1815 ; and soon distress, misery, and riot prevailed in many parts of the country. The public discontent was increased by an attempt on the part of the Government to continue the Income Tax after the war, merely reducing it from 10 to 5 per cent., but this excited such a storm of indignation in the country and in the lower House, that the government, thrown into a minority, gave up the tax. This circumstance is noticeable here, as the arguments used against the tax in our day are merely an echo of those used on that occasion.

The Duke, though a member of the cabinet, did not take a prominent part in parliamentary proceedings, and he was still loved and respected throughout the land, as the great general who had saved the country from the aggressions of a foreign power. The country, however, continued to become more and more restless and uneasy ; distress continued to spread ; the burden of taxation was enormously heavy, and the agitations in Ireland for Catholic Emancipation, in Britain for Representative Reform, were assuming a very threatening appearance. Mr. Hunt, a violent reformer, succeeded in unseating Mr. Stanley, the heir to the great house of Derby, at Preston, and he was announced to take the chair on 16th August, 1819, at a great meeting, to be held in Manchester, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. The meeting was to be held in a vacant piece of ground near St. Peter's church, and bodies of men from all the neighbouring manufacturing towns poured into Manchester to attend. The number assembled was estimated at 80,000. The conduct of the Manchester magistrates, with regard to this meeting, was greatly to be condemned. They issued warrants for the apprehension of the leaders of the movement, and had these warrants been quietly

executed, there would, in all probability, have been no meeting at all. But they allowed the people to assemble, allowed the proceedings to go so far that Hunt had taken the chair and commenced to speak, and *then* they tried to enforce the warrant. The meeting was neither disloyal nor disorderly, and no objectionable word had been spoken. A large body of troops, horse and foot, with two pieces of artillery, were collected, and among these were forty of the Manchester Yeomanry, chiefly mill owners. They were asked to enforce the warrant; the people received them with cheers, but they soon became so wedged in with the crowd that they could not reach the hustings. The Hussars, about 300 in number, then charged the defenceless crowd, dispersed the meeting, and captured Hunt and his confederates. Four or five lives were lost, and a great many people were severely wounded and bruised. This was called the "field of Peterloo;" its remembrance rankles in the hearts of thousands to this day, and it will not soon be forgotten, for on that field now stands the world-renowned Free Trade Hall of Manchester.

The magistrates of course were supported by the Government, and on the Government much blame fell. As a member of it, and the chief military member, the Duke came in for a considerable share of obloquy, and the people began to speculate on the probability that the sword of the Duke might yet be employed in putting down freedom at home. But this occurrence only made the people more determined, and numerous meetings, similar to that at Manchester, were soon held all over the country.

The old King, George III., died in the end of 1819, and was quietly succeeded by his eldest son, the Prince Regent. The ministry, as might be supposed, remained the same. In the beginning of 1820, a desperate attempt, known as the Cato-street Conspiracy, against the lives of Wellington and the other ministers was made. The plan was organised by a man named Thistlewood, and the arrangement was, that the members of

the cabinet were to be murdered while dining at the Earl of Harrowby's, the cavalry barracks fired, and then it was expected the people of London would rise and take the Bank and the Tower. The whole plan was divulged by one of the conspirators, and it of course failed. The chief conspirators were hung, and others were transported.

Another event was now fast approaching, that was to bring the ministry into great disfavour with the people. The marriage of George IV. had been most unhappy, and a virtual separation between him and his wife had taken place. He now wished for a legal divorce. His ministers refused to take steps for this purpose unless the Queen should return to England. Her name was, contrary to practice and to justice, omitted from the liturgy, and she came to England to demand her rights as a wife and a Queen. The King sent a message to the Lords which virtually asked them to put the Queen on trial for the worst conduct of which a wife could be guilty; preparations were made for her defence, and the entire nation, with the spirit of ancient chivalry, espoused her cause and took her part with the greatest enthusiasm. The King and his ministers were everywhere unpopular. The Queen's defence was entrusted to Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman. A negotiation for the quiet settlement of the dispute was opened, in which the King was represented by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, but it came to nothing, and the trial went on. The details of this trial, or whatever it might be called, were of the most disgusting kind, but after it had lasted about three months, the Queen was triumphant, and the bill of pains and penalties against her in the House of Lords was withdrawn. The joy of the people was intense, and the popularity of Brougham and Denman, who had conducted her defence with the most consummate ability, became exceedingly great.

For some time after the Queen's trial, the Duke's name was not prominently before the public. But of the events that then occurred, he was not an idle spectator. The two great

questions of the day, Reform in the Representation and the Emancipation of the Catholics, were making extraordinary progress. In 1812 the bribery and corruption, practised in the borough of Grampound, were so notorious that that place was disfranchised. It was a miserable little town with three hundred inhabitants, in the county of Cornwall, one of the many boroughs in that county that had been created in the reign of Edward VI. These three hundred inhabitants sent two members, while the great towns of Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds were entirely unrepresented. Two seats were thus to be appropriated, and a bill, brought in and conducted by Lord John Russell, passed the Commons, giving the two members to Leeds. This was, however, altered by the Lords, and the two members given to the county of York. The Commons agreed, and though Leeds was thus temporarily prevented from getting members, yet the discussion on the subject, and the exposure of the inequalities of the representation, did good service in clearing the way for the Reform Bill. About the same time a bill for the relief of the Catholics passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords by a majority of 39, a majority afterwards known as "the noble 39 who had saved the 39 Articles." Both these measures of the Commons were opposed by the Duke, whose mind was quite unfitted for appreciating those changes which must be made from time to time in the laws of a great and fast advancing country.

The years 1821 and 1822 were very memorable. During them, the King visited both Ireland and Scotland, where he was everywhere received with great enthusiasm; when in Ireland, however, he received intelligence of the death of his unfortunate Queen, and in Scotland, of the death, by his own hand, of Lord Castlereagh, who had been created Marquis of Londonderry. About the same time there died a far greater man than George IV. or Castlereagh; Napoleon Buonaparte died at St. Helena on 5th May, 1821. In 1822, the Marquis

of Wellesley, brother of the Duke, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was far before the Duke in his appreciation of political affairs, and he had already declared himself in favour of Catholic Emancipation. The death of Londonderry was, in its immediate results, the most important of all these events. The important office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was thereby rendered vacant, and the King, the Ministry, and the public, all turned to one man as his successor. That man was George Canning. He had already been in the Government, but had resigned. He was the first orator in the House of Commons, even when Brougham was there; all his leanings and views were liberal; and he was a man of transcendent power and ability. But in the Ministry, of which he had formed a part, he was both feared and disliked, and to the licentious King, the name of Canning was very repugnant. He was then making preparations for his departure to India as Governor General of that country, but on being appointed Foreign Secretary, he relinquished that office and was succeeded by Lord Amherst. Another situation was vacant by Londonderry's death, and that was representative of Britain at a congress about to be held at Verona. There was no mistake about the man most fit for this office, and the Duke of Wellington went once more to sit at the council table of the crowned heads of Europe.

The professed object of this congress was to settle the affairs of Greece, which were likely at that time to embroil Russia in a war with Turkey. So the Duke of Wellington considered his mission, but more far-seeing men than the Duke knew that Greece was but a screen; that more important questions must be considered; and that "the Holy Alliance" might decide on measures that might again plunge Europe into a general war. When the Duke arrived at Paris on his way to Verona, he found that the affairs of *Spain* were to form the chief subject of the congress, and he immediately wrote home for instructions. It was well then for Europe that Canning and

not Castlereagh, was at the Foreign Office. The conduct of Ferdinand, the King of Spain, had been like that of all restored Bourbons, who in exile "forgot nothing and learned nothing." It had raised a rebellion among his subjects that caused him to agree to their demands, and restore the constitution of 1812. Similar insurrections for similar purposes took place in Portugal and Naples; and the German princes, who in their hour of need had been profuse in their promises of liberal constitutions as soon as Napoleon had been driven away, were now forcibly reminded that they had not kept their princely words. In short, the people all over the continent were restless and uneasy, and some burst of popular enthusiasm was dreaded that might be fatal to kingly and imperial power. The conduct of France was strange and disguised; on pretence of establishing a *cordon sanitaire* to keep out a contagious fever that was then raging in some parts of Spain, she collected an immense force in the Pyrenees, and it was quite evident was ready to pour them into the Peninsula whenever occasion required or opportunity offered. Canning anticipated, what appears to have escaped the eye of Wellington, that the Holy Alliance would attempt to put down the popular movement in Spain by force; and he thus instructed Wellington:

"If there be a determined project to interfere by force or menace in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's Government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference, so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, as well as utterly impracticable in execution, that when the necessity arises or (I would rather say) when the opportunity offers, I am to instruct your Grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party." A proposal was made at this congress similar to that which Canning anticipated, but it was not entertained, chiefly on account of the opposition of England; for whatever may have been the

Duke's private feelings in the matter, he most scrupulously carried out his instructions. At this congress he met Chateaubriand; and few contrasts could be more striking between the dreamy visions and extravagant views of the French poet, and the plain, practical, decisive statements of the British general. Though no determination was come to at this congress to invade Spain, yet that country was soon after invaded by the French. The British Government, however, took no steps to assist Spain, preferring to acknowledge the independence of the South American Republics, and thus, in the words of Canning, "calling the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." When the French tide of invasion, however, reached Portugal, the British dispatched troops to that country. Their services, however, were not required, as France withdrew when there was a prospect of *another* Peninsular War. Britain, however, was completely severed from the Holy, or rather un-Holy, Alliance of the great powers of Europe. That Alliance was a few years after completely broken up by Death, who called many of its members away to that tribunal before which kings and emperors, however irresponsible on earth, must be tried for "all the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or whether they be evil."



COPENHAGEN.

CHAPTER X.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

THE great question of Catholic Emancipation was now fast approaching a final settlement. The disabilities, under which Roman Catholics laboured on account of their religion, were numerous and of a serious kind. They could not sit in either House of Parliament, all the Peers and all the Commons were exclusively Protestants. No Protestant could have a Catholic guardian; the greater part of the offices in the state were closed against them, and they could not exercise ecclesiastical patronage in the Church. Besides these, a large number of old and savage laws that had been passed against them had never been repealed, and though practically they were not enforced, yet they existed, and might, in the hands of a cruel government, be enforced with fearful results. The ablest statesmen of the time had seen that these disabilities must ultimately be removed, and that while three-fourths of the people of Ireland were thus placed in a much lower grade, in the eye of the law, than the other fourth, the government of that country would be a constant source of difficulty and annoyance, and the union of the two countries would exist only in name. Indeed, when that union took place it was understood that it was to be followed by the removal of those disabilities, and Mr. Pitt would certainly have carried such a measure if opposition had not come from an unexpected quarter.

The opponent was George III. He believed that his coronation oath absolutely precluded him from giving his consent to any measure of the kind, and he turned a deaf ear

to every proposal that his Ministers made to him. Lord Melville's attempt to reason with his Majesty on the subject was put down by the King declaring, in a very unroyal way, that he wanted "no Scotch Metaphysics." Had the feelings of his statesmen been the same as those of the King, there can be little doubt that a rebellion would have broken out in Ireland, which, considering the number of brave Irish troops that were in the army, might not have been either soon or easily put down. But in Ireland, though the agitation still went on, it was felt that the measure was only postponed until the death of the King. After George IV. came to the throne, *he* did not express the same conscientious scruple about the coronation oath. There was, however, a strong party opposed to any measure of relief, and among these were the Duke of Wellington, the Chancellor Eldon, and Mr. Peel. The next heir to the crown was the Duke of York, and he thought it proper to take the very unusual step of declaring in the House of Lords that his opinions were decidedly against Catholic Emancipation, and that, should he succeed to his father's power, he would do as he had done. The effect of this was to fan the agitation in Ireland, and a great Catholic Association was formed. The fruit was ripening fast, but no statesman dared to pluck it.

In 1826 the Duke of Wellington, who was now invariably chosen as the representative of the British power at any continental congress, was sent to St. Petersburg to deliberate, with other crowned heads, upon the affairs of Greece. This time Greece was *not* made a pretext, as it had been at Verona. The state of affairs was this: Greece, which for many years had formed part of the Turkish empire, had revolted against that government; the insurrection was put down with much barbarity, by Ibrahim, son of Mehemet Ali, then the Pacha of Egypt, but the Greeks still continued to resist, and implored the protection of the other powers of Europe. Russia, ever anxious for any pretext to go to war with Turkey, espoused

the Greek cause, and France and England did the same, actuated by sympathy with the struggles and sufferings of the people of that classic land, but still more by the wish to be in a position to prevent Turkey from passing over, either in whole or in part, to Russia. It was this complicated business that the Duke was sent to Russia to try and arrange. There was a strong desire to avoid war, and the three powers at last agreed to recommend a certain scheme to the Sultan, for the future government of Greece, by which that country would in future, though nominally a Turkish province, be rid of the presence of all Turks, and be, to a very great extent, independent. The Sultan, as a matter of course, looked on this scheme as the attempt of a foreign power to interfere between him and his rebellious subjects, and he treated it accordingly. The suppression of the Greek revolt continued; and Ibrahim collected the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets in the Bay of Navarino, on the south-western shore of the Morea; and almost every place of importance on the land was taken from the insurgents. A combined Russian, French, and English fleet was soon in the Mediterranean to assist the Greeks, and the fierce naval battle of Navarino was fought, which completely annihilated the Turkish navy. War was then declared between Russia and Turkey; the northern and central provinces were overrun by Russian troops, and the Sultan was at last glad to conclude a peace by which a very large indemnity was to be paid to Russia, for her expenses in the war; Greece was erected into a monarchy; and the crown, after being refused by two German princes, was ultimately accepted by Otho, of the house of Bavaria, then a youth only eighteen years of age.

During this year (1827), most important events occurred at home, in which the Duke of Wellington took a conspicuous part. In the early part of that year, the Duke of York died, and the apprehensions of the Catholics, of his opposition to their Emancipation, was removed. Wellington was present at the funeral in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, and he

immediately succeeded the Duke as Commander-in-Chief of the army. Soon after, the head of the Ministry, that for three long and trying years had ruled the country, was laid low ; a stroke of paralysis deprived Lord Liverpool of all mental power. His recovery was, after a short delay, pronounced hopeless, and the King had to choose another premier. There could be no mistake as to who should be the man, and the King, though with much reluctance, sent for Mr. Canning. In obedience to the royal command, Mr. Canning set about the difficult task. The personal feeling against him, entertained by some of his colleagues, was very strong, and he soon found that, though they might work *with* him as his equal, they would not serve *under* him as their head. The Chancellor, as might have been expected, refused to retain his office. Mr. Peel would not serve, and the Duke of Wellington, after most unnecessarily asking Mr. Canning who was to be the Premier, sent in his resignation. He was afterwards twitted about his conduct on this occasion in the House, and his resignation ascribed to a desire on his own part to be at the head of the Government. He repelled that accusation with great vehemence, and declared that it would have been "madness" for him to have accepted the Premiership. People could understand what he meant by this declaration until the end of that same year, when the act of "madness" was done, and the Duke was Prime Minister of England.

Notwithstanding these and other resignations, Mr. Canning was able to complete his Ministry, which appeared before Parliament after the Easter recess with every appearance of strength and vigour. But it was soon broken to pieces by a most melancholy event. Mr. Canning had been ill since the funeral of the Duke of York ; the numerous bitter attacks made on him in the House of Commons, and the systematic misrepresentation of which he was the subject, acted severely on a nervous frame already shattered by disease. He held out, however, to the last, but he died in the month of May.

The country felt sincere and deep regret, for Canning was by the vast majority of the people beloved and admired. His splendid talents, fearless conduct, and matchless eloquence, raised him to the highest position in the councils of his country, and had he lived he would doubtless have sent a name down to posterity greater and grander even than that of Pitt.

He was succeeded by Lord Goderich (better known by the name of "Prosperity Robinson"), but the ministry he formed did not last long, and in the end of the year he resigned; whereupon the King sent for the Duke of Wellington, and entrusted him with the formation of a new ministry. Both the King and the Duke wished to get rid of all those known as the personal friends of Mr. Canning, and who approved of his policy. The Duke wanted a ministry that would act like a machine, and be as obedient to his orders as any of his old regiments. But the great General found he had to deal with circumstances which he could not remove, and with men who would not bend to his will. The ministry he formed differed little from the old, and in it were retained Huskisson, Palmerston, and Lord Lyndhurst (whom Canning had made Lord Chancellor). From this point the paths of the Duke and the ex-Chancellor Eldon, that had run so long in one line, diverged. The spirit of Eldon would yield to no innovations or changes in the constitution; Wellington saw that his old policy of dogged and obstinate resistance was of no avail in the affairs he had then to manage, and so he made up his mind to yield.

It was not long before a rupture took place in the Wellington cabinet. A proposal was made in the House of Commons that the borough of East Retford should be disfranchised, and its members given to Birmingham. This was opposed by Mr. Peel in the name of the Government, but Mr. Huskisson considered himself pledged to vote for the measure, and he did so. The same evening he wrote a letter to the Duke, which the latter

received as a resignation, and acted accordingly. This was not what Mr. Huskisson intended, and an attempt was made to reopen the matter on the ground of its being a mistake. But the Duke, in his imperious way, said, "There is no mistake; there has been no mistake, and there shall be no mistake." He was only too glad to get rid of Mr. Huskisson, and his retirement was immediately followed by that of Lords Palmerston and Dudley, and of Mr. Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne.

During the same session an act abolishing certain disabilities under which Dissenters laboured was passed. It was first opposed by the Government in the House of Commons, but supported by the Duke in the Lords, and all men saw that the time for the emancipation of the Catholics was coming fast.

The progress of events in Ireland was very ominous. In every direction agitators, with eloquence and enthusiasm like O'Connell and Shiel, were rousing the people; a formidable Catholic Association existed in Dublin, with branches all over the country; it was well supplied with money, and commenced a movement of using the forty shilling freehold qualification as a means of obtaining the power of returning the representatives for the Irish counties. The first attempt was made in the county of Clare, where a vacancy had occurred, and O'Connell was sent to oppose Mr. Fitzgerald, a large proprietor in the county, and a firm adherent of the Government. The election was a scene of most intense excitement, and when the polling began O'Connell was soon in such a large majority, that Fitzgerald retired after entering a protest that the election was void in consequence of O'Connell's inability to take the oaths and his seat in the House. This protest was considered by the Sheriff of the county, but he decided that the election was legal, and that no objection could be raised until O'Connell refused to take the oaths. But the arch-agitator knew a better course than that of attempting to take his seat in the House; he continued to itinerate the country with all the prestige of

an M.P. attached to his name, rousing the people to further efforts in the Catholic cause. At the same time some unguarded expressions of the Duke, to the effect that if the people would be quiet, something might be done, and some equally unguarded expressions of the Marquis of Anglesey, then Viceroy of Ireland, raised the hopes of the Catholics still higher, which they did not check even when Anglesey was recalled. In short, the state of things was such in the end of 1828, that civil war seemed unavoidable if some Catholic Relief Bill was not passed.

The Duke and Mr. Peel saw this, and made up their minds to yield. It was, however, a difficult matter to persuade the King that the measure was necessary. George IV. was then living in retirement at Windsor, suffering severely in his declining years from the effects of his early licentiousness. His mind, never very strong, was quite enfeebled, and above all, he displayed little of his father's truthfulness. The extent of the disagreeable duty Wellington had to discharge at this critical time will perhaps never be known. The King yielded with a very bad grace, and the session of 1829 was opened by a speech, read by the Chancellor (for the King never appeared in public now), in which Parliament was requested to consider whether all the civil disabilities of the Catholics could not be removed, without endangering the security of "our establishments in Church and State." The Duke having made up his mind to relieve the Catholics, it was no half measure that he introduced, but a full and complete acknowledgment of equality. It soon passed the Commons, where it was introduced by Mr. Peel (who lost his seat for Oxford University in consequence, though he was immediately returned for Westbury), and it passed the Lords by large majorities. It was during the discussion that the Duke made the famous declaration, "I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life in war than most men; and principally I may say in civil war; and I must say this, that

if I could avoid by any sacrifice whatever even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it." From the King a reluctant assent was wrung, and the measure became law.

During the passing of this measure some remarks on the Duke's conduct, made by the Earl of Winchilsea, seemed to call for "explanation;" and the two noblemen actually fought a duel, in which the Duke missed his opponent and the Earl fired in the air. Both parties of course then expressed themselves satisfied, and so the matter ended.

The second half of the year 1830 was crowded with events. George IV. died, and few eyes wept at the news. The Duke of Clarence succeeded him as William IV., but no change took place in the Ministry. In July, 1830, another revolution broke out in France, and the old branch of the Bourbons, for whose restoration Wellington had fought so gallantly, were driven into exile, and lived for many years in the old palace of the Scottish kings and queens at Holyrood.

Before that year closed the Duke of Wellington took part in an event almost as important in the history of the world as the battle of Waterloo. The scheme of connecting the two great towns of Liverpool and Manchester by a railroad had a few years before received the sanction of Parliament, and, in defiance of all natural obstacles, and in spite of the croakings of even skilful engineers, who declared the thing impossible, the road had been made, powerful locomotives had travelled it at high speed, and, in September, 1830, it was ready to be opened to the public. It was a great occasion, and the Duke of Wellington and other members of the Government, Mr. Huskisson, &c., were to be present at the opening. When in Liverpool, the Duke saw more of that great town than many people at the time supposed. He was observed one morning about six o'clock walking about the docks quite alone and unattended, examining everything, and asking questions of those around him in his usual direct way. It was high water,

and numbers of vessels were entering and leaving that great port ; the broad surface of the Mersey was white with sails, and along the entire line of the docks floated in peaceful proximity the flags of nations long at war with each other. But the Mersey was not only white with sails, but also dark with smoke ; and the Duke might well gaze in wonder at the steamers darting along the river and carrying men and merchandise to other shores. Only fifteen years before, just after the Duke had won Waterloo, the waters of the Mersey were stirred for the first time by the paddles of a steam-boat. In the general rejoicing this event was scarcely noticed ; but it was the beginning of a work that was to make greater and better changes even than Waterloo. The power that had been so successful in traversing the ocean was now to be applied to the land, and the Duke was there to assist in its inauguration. But a sad event clouded the brightness of that day. The train with the distinguished visitors had proceeded half way to Manchester, when it stopped at Parkside to allow some of them to depart for the south. A mutual friend of the Duke and Mr. Huskisson thought that occasion a favourable one to renew the friendship between them. They received each other cordially ; but, in trying to take his seat again in the carriage, Mr. Huskisson was struck by a passing engine, and received such severe injuries that he died the same day. A little marble tablet marks the spot where this great statesman fell. The Duke was greatly affected ; and a day that opened so brightly and with so much gladness, closed in gloom and sorrow.

The Duke lived to see the abolition of that system of things on the continent which he fought so well to build up ; and he lived to see the triumph of almost every political principle which he had vigorously opposed ; but he also lived to see the great mechanical discoveries of his time advance with a rapidity unexampled, and with results as beneficial as they were enduring. He lived to see the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans bridged by steam ; nations communicating instantaneously with each other

along the nervous electric line, and England and the Continent completely covered with a system of iron roads as marvellous as any of the marvels of an Eastern tale. The Duke took no part in these works ; but it was under the great and benign shadow of that PEACE for which the warrior fought, that these glorious triumphs of science were gained.



CHAPTER XI.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THERE was great excitement during the elections that followed the death of George IV. The rallying cry at the hustings was for Parliamentary Reform. In the great county of Yorkshire, which, at that time, returned four members (for it had not then been divided for electoral purposes into ridings), the struggle was most intense; for in that county the inequalities of the representation were very glaring. Not one of its large manufacturing towns sent members to Parliament; there was no voice in the House of Commons to speak in the name of the people of Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, and Wakefield, while a place like Old Sarum, without a house, without an inhabitant, was represented by two members, as far as two members could represent nothing. The popular candidate for Yorkshire was Henry Brougham, in whom the hopes of a large portion of the great Liberal party were placed. He was at that time, perhaps, the most popular man in England, and he was returned for Yorkshire amid universal demonstrations of delight.

During these elections a new power appeared in the state. The inhabitants of some of the largest towns in England were non-electors, and they organised themselves into powerful Unions, to gain by peaceable and legal means that right of being represented in the councils of the nation to which they were justly entitled. They held meetings, passed resolutions, signed petitions, and cheered and animated each other in the good work. They were not mobs, and their leaders were neither demagogues nor adventurers, but were composed of the very

flower of the middle classes of the country. By the Duke their proceedings were watched with great hatred. He saw no ground for their complaints ; and, acting on his military experience, he saw no way of stopping the agitation but by the use of force. The Duke had yet to learn that the temper of the people of England differs widely from that of the people of Spain and France, and that political affairs must not be administered in London in the same way as in Seringapatam.

After the elections were over, it was clear that the Government would be in a minority. The King's speech increased the excitement of the people, for in it there was no allusion whatever to Parliamentary Reform, and nothing which indicated that the Government were disposed to grant one iota of the people's demands. The excitement was increased by a speech made by the Duke in the House of Lords, in which he said, "He would go further, and say, that the legislature and the system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country ; deservedly possessed that confidence, and the discussions in the legislature had a very great influence over the opinions of the country. He would go still further, and say, that if at the present moment he had imposed upon him the duty of forming a legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, he did not mean to assert that he could form such a legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once, but his great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature that would produce the same results. The representation of the people at present contained a large body of the property of the country, and in which the landed interests had a preponderating influence. Under these circumstances he was not prepared to bring forward any measure of the description alluded to by the noble Lord (Grey). He was not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but he would at once declare, that as far as he was

concerned, as long as he held any station in the government of the country, he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others."

These decisive sentences, spoken with the Duke's usual energy, were fatal to him and his government. Brougham gave notice of a motion on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, on which it seemed certain the government would be beaten. But they would not accept battle upon it, and the Duke resigned when he was left in a minority of twenty-nine, in the Commons, on a question about the Civil List. Earl Grey was requested to form a new ministry.

The government that succeeded that of the Duke was in many respects remarkable. Its head, Earl Grey, was then far advanced in life ; his political career had begun in the days of Pitt, and he had, from the earliest period, been the most able and consistent of all the friends of Parliamentary Reform. His Chancellor of the Exchequer was Lord Althorpe, afterwards Earl Spencer, who enjoyed the honour, a few years after this time, of proposing and carrying the first Parliamentary grant for the education of the people. Lord Melbourne, afterwards Prime Minister himself, was Home Secretary ; Lord Palmerston then took the office, which no living man is better qualified to fill, that of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ; Sir James Graham was first Lord of the Admiralty ; Lord John Russell held the subordinate office of Paymaster of the Forces ; and Lord Durham, afterwards Governor of Canada, was Lord Privy Seal. But who was to be the Chancellor ; the keeper of the Great Seal, and the King's conscience ; the head of the law ; the Speaker of the House of Lords ; the dispenser of a vast amount of patronage, lay and clerical ; and the judge of the most complex cases in that complex institution, the Court of Chancery ? The choice of the new Ministry took the country by surprise. Henry Brougham, the brilliant, fearless, and eccentric, was placed on the woolsack and received the title of Baron Brougham and Vaux. What a contrast was he, the

quick, restless, and daring, to Eldon, the slow, calm, and cautious. Men wondered and were yet pleased, for Henry Brougham was the idol of the people, and he was now high in power. All chance of office had been given up when he defended the late Queen, but now he had succeeded that Sir John Copley, Lord Lyndhurst, who was the leading counsel for the King and the court on that disreputable trial.

It was known that Earl Grey had made it a condition of taking office, that Reform of Parliament should be a Cabinet question, and that to this the King had agreed. The people therefore quietly awaited the issue, satisfied that their cause was in the hands of good men and true. After a longer recess than usual, the House of Commons met in the beginning of 1831. The Reform Bill was then proposed, and its introduction to the House of Commons was entrusted to Lord John Russell. On the 1st of March, Lord John stated the provisions of the bill. These were more than the country generally expected, and their nature terrified the old Tory party, who began to think that every institution in Church and State was endangered, and that the country was on the brink of a revolution. Into the details of the Reform Bill we need not enter here ; its leading principles were to abolish boroughs that were notoriously corrupt or were in the hands of great men, and to give representatives to the large towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham, &c., in proportion to the population. It was also proposed that the total number of members of the House should be reduced to 596. The first division took place on the second reading of the Bill, when there were in its favour 302, against it 301 ; the majority being only one. When it went into committee, General Gascoyne, one of the members for Liverpool, moved that the number of representatives ought not to be diminished ; this was carried by a majority of eight, and Earl Grey proceeded to the King with the resignation of the ministers. This his Majesty would not accept, but requested them to proceed with the Bill. Earl Grey then agreed to hold

office, provided the King dissolved the Parliament. This the King at first refused, but when Lord Winchilsea gave notice of a motion which appeared like an interference with the prerogative of the Crown, all hesitation ceased, and on the very day when that motion was to be discussed, the King dissolved the Parliament, on April 22nd. The opposition murmured greatly, and some most exciting scenes took place in both Houses on the day of dissolution.

The elections were soon over, and it was clear from the first that in the House of Commons the Reform Bill was safe. The second reading was carried by a majority of 116, and the third, by a majority of 113. The bill reached the Lords in October, and on the first division it was rejected by a majority of 41. The Duke was active in his opposition to the measure, and all the bishops, except the Bishop of Norwich, voted against it. Had they voted for it, the scale would have been turned ; as it was, the country rang with the cry that the bishops had thrown out the Reform Bill. In other circumstances the Ministry must have resigned, but the House of Commons immediately passed a vote of confidence in them, which induced them to retain power. But this conduct of the Lords raised questions of grave importance, and provoked discussions which would much better have been avoided. If the Lords had the power to oppose the wishes of the people, the people had the power to refuse the payment of taxes. The good old maxim, that "taxation without representation is tyranny," was revived and commented on, and many persons boldly and publicly declared that they would pay no taxes till the Reform Bill had become the law of the land. There was another alternative, but it was of doubtful policy, and that was—the King might create a sufficient number of new Peers to pass the bill. The two Houses were prorogued in October, but met again in December, when Lord John Russell re-introduced the Reform Bill into the Commons, by whom it was passed after a long dreary time of discussion, by a majority of 116, on 23rd March, 1832.

The second reading in the Lords was carried by a majority of nine (the bishops had come round), but in the committee the Ministers were left in a minority of thirty-five, on a motion made by Lord Lyndhurst. The Ministry resigned, and the Duke of Wellington was sent for. The Duke obeyed the command like a soldier. The King insisted that "some extensive measure of reform should be made." But after what the Duke had said the year before, how was it possible that *he* could be the man to carry it? The Duke thought a new Ministry might be formed, on the basis of such a measure of Reform as would pass the Lords. The Duke declared positively that he would hold no office in such a Ministry; most probably he would oppose its measures, *but* he would try and form such a Ministry. The attempt, as might be supposed, failed, but the Duke had done his duty in not deserting his Sovereign in the day of difficulty. Earl Grey was recalled; the King promised if necessary to create a sufficient number of new Peers, and all the Ministers returned to office.

Meanwhile the country was in a state of extreme agitation and excitement. Party spirit and feeling ran very high; the very children were aware of what was going on, and even in public schools there were parties of Reformers and Anti-Reformers among the boys. The Duke of Wellington was everywhere unpopular. The windows of Apsley House were broken, and the Duke was saved from personal insult in the streets of London by some soldiers of the Coldstream Guard. The threat of stopping the supplies was repeated, until at last it was echoed within the walls of the House of Commons. The discussion of the bill was renewed in the Lords; it was known that there was a majority in its favour, and that if by some unexpected accident it should not pass, new peers would be immediately created. The Duke went down to the House, stated his views against the bill, gave a narrative of his fruitless attempt to form a Ministry, and then withdrew from the House, to which he did not return until all the discussions

on the bill were over. His example was followed by about a hundred more members of the House, and the bill soon passed through all its stages, and on the 7th of June, 1832, it became law.

Those who lived at that period will long remember the summer of 1832. When it was known that "the Bill" had passed, there was a burst of delight all over the country such as had not been witnessed within the memory of man. Bonfires blazed, bells were rung, streets were illuminated, and songs of rejoicing were chanted. Even in the most obscure villages the children knew the names of Russell, Brougham, and Grey, and wore medals struck to commemorate the great event. Then a day was set specially apart for a great jubilee. Flags were prepared; silk rosettes appeared on almost every breast; triumphal arches were erected; houses were decorated with flowers and evergreens; there were processions, and dinners, and music, and great and universal rejoicing.

But the iron shutters of Apsley House were closed; the great Duke had caused them to be made after his windows were broken, and they have not been opened since. The Reform agitation had taught the Duke the bitterest lesson of his life. The greatest Captain of the age, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the leader and head of a powerful party, had to bend before the will of a free people. The Duke had said to Mr. Potter, an eminent Manchester manufacturer, that "if the people of England won't be quiet, there is a way to make them." The Duke's "way" was with the sword, but the sword would not obey him; for when there was some idea of putting down the great political unions by military force, it was found that the soldiers could not be depended on. In fact, many of them at Birmingham were members of the union there, and the sympathies of the mass of them were with the people. When the year ended, the Duke found his remark reversed, and the people of England had found a way to make the Duke of Wellington quiet!



APSLEY HOUSE, THE RESIDENCE OF THE DUKE IN LONDON.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DUKE AGAIN IN OFFICE AS FOREIGN SECRETARY — APPOINTED
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—ABOLITION OF CORN LAWS—STANDS GODFATHER
TO PRINCE ARTHUR—DEATH.

THOUGH for some time before and after the passing of the Reform Bill, the Duke filled no office in the government, yet several appointments which he held required him to devote considerable time to public business. In 1826, he had been appointed Constable of the Tower of London, an office certainly not involving many duties, but such as these duties were, the Duke attended to them with scrupulous fidelity. In 1829 he was appointed to the ancient and highly honourable office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. This office was created by

William the Conqueror. The ports, as the title indicates, were originally five, but afterwards increased to seven, namely, Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney, Sandwich, Winchelsea, and Rye, thus extending along that part of the coast of Kent, which is nearest to the French shore. The ports are under a peculiar jurisdiction, and the inhabitants, from whom special services in case of invasion, are expected, have certain special privileges. These ports are considered the key of the kingdom ; the Lord Warden has always been regarded as the country's bulwark against invasion, and in better hands that high office could not have been placed, than in those of Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington. The Lord Warden's residence is at Walmer Castle, near Dover, and there the Duke usually resided during some portion of every year.

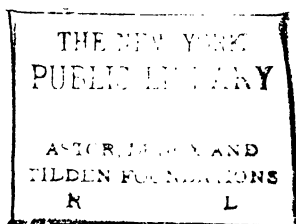


WALMER CASTLE.

In 1834 the Duke was elected, without a contest, to the dignified office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford ; and one of the last acts of his life was the perusal of a ponderous "blue book" issued by the Commission appointed to inquire into the state of that University.

In 1834 the country was startled by the announcement that the King had dismissed his Ministers. The reason for this step, even the Ministers themselves could not understand ; they had sustained no adverse vote in Parliament, and they were not, generally speaking, unpopular in the country. Some very absurd reasons were given, such as the removal of Lord Althorpe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the House of Lords, in consequence of his father's death, but it was generally believed that the step was the result of a court intrigue, in which the Queen, Adelaide, had a considerable share. Indeed, the Chancellor, Brougham, was known to have said then, that "the Queen has done it all," and his words were repeated all over the country, and Queen Adelaide's popularity, never very great, was very much diminished. But be the causes what they may, the first step taken by the King was to send for the Duke of Wellington. The Duke had been Prime Minister once already, and his experience determined him not to accept that office again, but he recommended the King to send for Sir Robert Peel, under whom, as Premier, the Duke was willing to hold office. But Sir Robert was at Rome ; some time must elapse before his return ; no appointments could be made in his absence, and the question arose, how in the interval is the King's government to be carried on ? The Duke did not hesitate a moment ; one course only was open to him, and he adopted it at once, and for an entire fortnight he discharged the duties of eight great officers of state, working all the time harder than any other man in England. The country had a united government at last ; no dissensions in the Cabinet ; no challenges from a Lord Chancellor to a Lord Privy Seal ; but on the contrary, a directness and unity of action most marvellous, for, was not the whole business of the country, both at home and abroad, discussed and settled in one man's head alone, and that man was the Duke of Wellington !

The country scarcely knew whether to be angry or amused.





WELLINGTON AND BROUGHAM IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The old Ministers complained loudly of the unconstitutional nature of the proceeding, and had the Duke intended the arrangement to be permanent, the complaints of some could not have been stronger. But the business of the country went on as if nothing had happened, and after a day or two, people began to think that the old Swedish minister was right when he exclaimed, "with how little wisdom this world is governed!" The difficulties of the Duke's position were greater, however, than will perhaps ever be known, and he himself confessed, shortly after, at a Guildhall banquet, that he could never have got on if he had not had the confidence of "the city." When Sir Robert Peel returned, the Ministry was soon formed, the Duke taking office as Foreign Secretary. A dissolution of Parliament immediately took place, and on the reassembling of the House, the government were defeated on their very first motion, namely, the election of a Speaker. But on that they did not resign, and Sir Robert Peel, though in a minority, conducted the business of the government with a tact and an ability that won him the respect and favour of many, by whom he had not hitherto been properly appreciated. A succession of defeats, however, caused the Ministry to resign, and Lord Melbourne and his followers returned to power. But they returned with a new Chancellor; Cottenham, instead of Brougham. The latter was not a favourite with the King, nor with the Ministers. In fact, Brougham was never made for a partisan; he was too independent and impracticable for any party. Long did he wish himself back again among the Commons, and the country also would doubtless have been glad if once more Henry Brougham could be the leader of "his Majesty's opposition" in the lower House.

Shortly after the Duke left office, Mr. Hume disclosed to the House of Commons the existence of a most extraordinary conspiracy, in which the loyalty of many of the Peers was implicated, and in which a most ridiculous charge was made against the Duke of Wellington. The conspirators had

established an immense number of Orange Lodges both in England and Ireland ; there were many also in the army, and the object was to depose the King for his part in passing the Reform Bill, and to proclaim the Duke of Cumberland in his place. This measure was to be taken to prevent the Duke of Wellington from deposing the King and assuming the crown himself ! Everybody laughed to scorn the idea of the disloyalty of the Duke, but the conspiracy was very formidable, and it was intended to put some of the peers, including the Duke of Cumberland, on their trial. The chief witness, however, died, and all the Orange Lodges were dissolved.

William IV. died in 1837, but Queen Victoria still retained the Whig Ministry. In 1839 they were, however, defeated on a question about Jamaica, and the Duke was sent for. As before, he recommended Sir Robert Peel as Prime Minister, and Sir Robert proceeded to form a Government. He had no difficulty in obtaining colleagues, but most unexpectedly it was discovered that the chief offices round the person of the Queen were filled by relations of the late Government. Sir Robert Peel intimated to the Queen that he could not accept office unless changes in these appointments were made ; the Queen refused ; the Duke was asked his opinion, and he distinctly stated that under these circumstances Sir Robert Peel could not hold office. The consequence was that the Whig Ministry returned to power.

While Governments were thus rising and falling on this miserable question about "The Ladies of the Bedchamber," the country was agitated from one end to the other by the subject of the Corn Laws. A large party was rising up who demanded that the Corn Laws should be totally repealed ; and public opinion made such advances on the question, that the Whig Government in 1841 proposed to abolish the old sliding scale and substitute fixed duties ; the duty on wheat to be eight shillings per quarter. This proposal did not please the Conservatives, who wished the sliding scale to be retained, nor

the Radicals, who wished it to be entirely abolished. The consequence was that the Government were defeated. They dissolved the House, went to the country on the question, and finding that the elections had left them in a great minority, they resigned. Sir Robert Peel then took office as Prime Minister, with the Duke of Wellington as a member of his Cabinet, but without any specific office. In the following year, however (1842), he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces on the death of Lord Hill, an office which he held until his death.

In the same year the Duke's brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, died. He had held high offices in the State with great credit to himself. He had been Governor-General of India and Viceroy of Ireland, and to his exertions the Duke was greatly indebted during the Peninsular War for procuring the transmission of supplies and reinforcements. The two brothers visited each other to the last, but the Marquis had a strange habit of making the Duke wait for his appearance when the latter called. This, however, was taken in very good part, and the Duke merely remarked, "I believe my brother still thinks that he is Governor-General of India, and that I am only plain Colonel Wellesley."

We must now pass rapidly from 1842 to 1846, during which period the Duke continued in office with Sir Robert Peel. These years were stormy both at home and abroad. There were serious wars in China and India, great distress among the working classes at home, and finally, the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. The measures introduced by Sir Robert Peel had all a tendency towards Free Trade; the agitation of the Anti-Corn-Law-League, now a great power in the State, had made many converts to the policy of an immediate and total abolition of the Corn Laws; and the approaching dearth of the chief food of the people of Ireland brought the matter to a crisis. Sir Robert Peel duly appreciated the danger, and proposed in the end of 1845 to his

colleagues that the Corn Laws should be repealed. The Cabinet was divided, and they resigned. The leader of the opposition, Lord Stanley, was not prepared to form a Government, and the Queen sent for Lord John Russell. But his efforts to form a Ministry failed, and Sir Robert Peel returned to office, with some changes among his colleagues, the chief being that Mr. Gladstone was Colonial Secretary instead of Lord Stanley, and the Duke of Buccleuch was President of the Council instead of Lord Wharncliffe.

The Duke of Wellington reluctantly consented to the abolition of the Corn Laws. He had supported these laws on every occasion, had resisted all attempts to change them, and now the time had come when he was to take a leading part in their abolition. We give his reasons for his conduct on that occasion in his own words, and it will be seen that he acted on very different grounds from his colleagues. After giving an explanation of the dissensions in the Cabinet, and the various steps that were taken in consequence, he said :—

“Her Majesty then thought proper to write to my right honourable friend (Sir Robert Peel), to desire him to resume his situation, which he still held, until another Administration was formed. My right honourable friend wrote to me—I was in the country at the time—and informed me he had been sent for, and that her Majesty having desired him to resume his situation, he had determined, happen what might, if alone, he would enable her Majesty, as her Minister, to meet her Parliament. My Lords, I highly applauded the course taken by my right honourable friend on that occasion, and I determined that I, for one, would stand by him. I did so because I felt it to be my duty to the Crown to endeavour to be of service, and I did think the formation of a Government, in which her Majesty would have confidence, was infinitely of greater importance than any opinion of any individual on the Corn Law or any other law. My Lords, that moment my right honourable friend wrote to me, and desired me to attend a meeting of the Cabinet that

evening, which I did. I applauded the conduct of my right honourable friend. I was delighted with it. It was precisely the course which I would have followed myself under similar circumstances, and I accordingly determined that I would stand by him. My Lords, at the same time that I did this I knew well the position in which my right honourable friend stood in relation to the Corn Law. I knew well, that in consequence of his having resigned his office into her Majesty's hands, because he could not prevail upon his Cabinet to support him in the material alteration of the Corn Law which he considered necessary, those who were employed to form a Government must have had a knowledge of the particular circumstances under which my right honourable friend had resumed his office ; and, my Lords, how could my right honourable friend, under these circumstances, go into the House of Commons and again defend the Corn Laws, as he had done only in the preceding July ? How could he go into Parliament and defend the Corn Law against those gentlemen who were informed that his opinions on the subject had been altered, and who, of course, would have reproached him with a fresh alteration of opinion in going down to support the existing law ? I knew well, therefore, that when I told my right honourable friend that I would stand by him in the resumption of his government, that, in doing so, I must be a party in the proposition for a material alteration of the Corn Law. It could not be otherwise. I knew it. When I did it I knew it. * * * * * But, at all events, I say, that, situated as I am in this country—rewarded as I have been by the Sovereign and people of England—I could not refuse to serve her Majesty in assisting to form a government, when I was called upon to enable her Majesty to meet her Parliament, in order to carry on the business of the country. On that ground, as it appears from my statement now to you, I claim from your Lordships an acquiescence in the principle which I lay down, namely, that I positively could not refuse serving my Sovereign when called upon to do so."

The abolition of the Corn Laws was carried ; but the measure broke up the great Conservative party, and Sir Robert Peel and his government resigned soon afterwards.

The remaining six years of the Duke's life were not marked by any very striking event. Though the Whigs regained power in 1846, the Duke was still continued in the office of Commander-in-Chief. When apprehensions of a Chartist riot were entertained in April, 1848, the Duke made such admirable preparations that no breach of the peace was committed. On May 1, 1850, a royal Prince was born, to whom the Duke stood godfather. Shortly after, that sad accident happened which caused the death of Sir Robert Peel, and deprived the country of the greatest statesman of the age. General as was the grief, there was perhaps no man who felt it so heavily as the Duke of Wellington. He and Peel had long been personal friends as well as ministerial colleagues ; and no two men were better fitted for the requirements of the time. On May 1, 1851, the Duke assisted at the great ceremony of the opening by the Queen in person of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. But great as was that occasion, the Duke did not allow it to interfere with the discharge of a duty that by most other men would probably have been neglected. That 1st of May was not only the anniversary of the Duke's birthday, but the first anniversary of that of his little godson, Prince Arthur. When the ceremony at the Great Exhibition was over, the old hero drove immediately to Buckingham Palace with an appropriate present to Prince Arthur. When he arrived the infant was asleep, and the Queen had not returned ; but the Duke sat down, and waited patiently until the little sleeper would open his eyes. When the Queen arrived and learned that the Duke was waiting, she did not pause even to disrobe, but woke up her little son and placed him in the arms of the Duke.

The last political act of importance in the Duke's life occurred when the Whig Ministry resigned in 1851. The Queen sent for the Earl of Derby, but he relinquished the

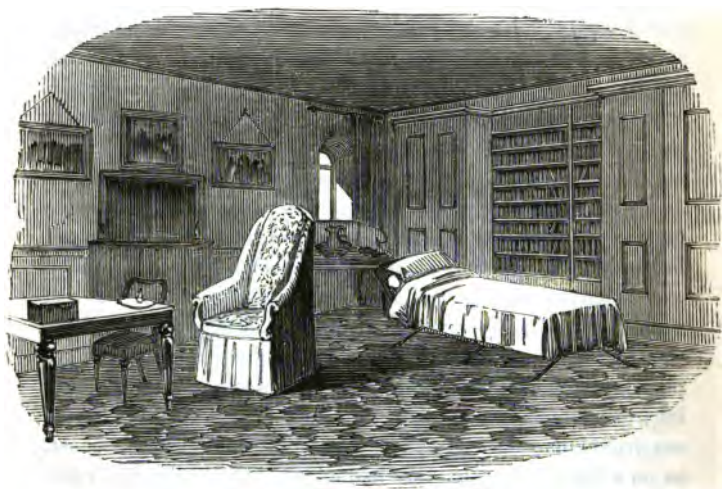
task of forming a Ministry. The Government seemed to have come to "a dead lock," and the Duke was called in. By his recommendation the Whig Ministry resumed office, which, however, they did not long retain.

On the 14th of September, 1852, the country was grieved and startled by the sudden announcement that the Duke of Wellington was dead. For some time it was disbelieved, for though symptoms of decay had long been visible in the old soldier, yet no one supposed that his end was so near. He was then residing at Walmer Castle, and on Monday, the 13th, he dined heartily on venison, and went to bed in good health. In the morning, however, he felt so ill that medical attendance had to be procured, and Mr. Hulke, a medical man residing at Deal, was sent for. Mr. H., jun., thus describes the closing scene :—

"Tuesday, Sept. 14.—About half-past eight this morning my father received a note from Walmer Castle, stating that the Duke of Wellington wished to see him. He immediately went to the Castle. His Grace complained of uneasiness about the chest and stomach; was then perfectly conscious, and answered questions put to him with correctness. Some medicine was ordered, and during its preparation his Grace took some tea and toast. Shortly after leaving the Castle, my father received another communication, stating that his Grace was much worse; he had had fits similar to those he was subject to. My father and I went directly, and found his Grace in bed, unconscious; eyes turned a little upwards, fixed; pupils of medium size; skin warm and moist; respiration very laborious, from accumulation of mucus in air tubes. Before our arrival his valet had applied a mustard poultice to his chest, as on a former occasion this had given relief. Dr. M'Arthur soon arrived, and Drs. Hume and Fergusson were telegraphed for. Dr. M'Arthur advised a mustard emetic to be given, having prescribed one with advantage for the Duke several years ago under similar circumstances. This and other

measures were now of no avail. His Grace became very restless, tried to turn on his left side : occasionally there were slight twitchings of the left arm. When raised in bed, his breathing was much more free, and this induced us to place him in an easy chair, when his respiration became much less embarrassed ; his pulse sank, and his Grace was now placed more horizontally ; the pulse rallied for a little time, and then gradually declined : the breathing became more feeble ; and, at 25 minutes past 3 o'clock p.m., his Grace breathed his last. So easy and gentle was the transition, that for the moment it was doubted. A mirror was held before his Grace's mouth ; its brightness was undimmed, and he was no more."

And thus calmly and peacefully Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, breathed his last.



THE ROOM IN WHICH THE DUKE DIED.

SUMMARY

OF

THE COMMISSIONS, SERVICES, OFFICIAL COMMANDS, AND
PUBLIC HONOURS

OF

FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

(This very interesting Chronological Record, to the year 1835, is appended to Colonel Gurwood's "Despatches of the Duke of Wellington." 12 vols. 8vo.)

Born	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 May, 1769
Ensign	...	...	...	...	...	...	7 Mar. 1787
Lieutenant	...	...	...	...	...	...	25 Dec. 1787
Captain	...	...	...	...	...	...	30 June, 1791
Major	...	...	...	...	...	...	30 April, 1793
Lieutenant-Colonel	...	...	...	...	...	...	30 Sept. 1793
Colonel	...	...	...	...	...	...	3 May, 1796
Major-General	...	...	...	...	...	...	29 April, 1802
Lieutenant-General	...	...	...	...	...	...	25 April, 1806
General, in Spain and Portugal	...	...	...	...	...	...	31 July, 1811
Field Marshal	...	...	...	...	...	...	21 June, 1813
Died	...	...	...	...	...	...	14 Sept. 1862

1794.

Embarked at Cork in command of the 33rd regiment to join the Duke of York's army in the Netherlands, and arrived at Ostend	...	...	June
Re-embarked and proceeded by the Scheldt to Antwerp	...	...	July

1795.

As senior officer, commanded three battalions on the retreat of the army through Holland	...	...	Jan.
Early in the spring, on the breaking up of the ice, the army, including the 33rd regiment, re-embarked at Bremen for England	...	...
On return to England, embarked in the command of the 33rd regiment for the West Indies, on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Christian	...	...	Oct.

1796.

But owing to the heavy equinoctial gales, after being six weeks at sea, returned to port	...	...	19 Jan.
Destination of the 33rd regiment changed for India	...	...	12 April
Joined the 33rd regiment at the Cape of Good Hope	...	...	Sept.

1797.

Arrived in Bengal	...	...	Feb.
Formed part of an expedition to Manila, but recalled on arrival at Penang	...	...	Aug.
Returned to Calcutta	...	...	Nov.

1798.

Proceeded on a visit to Madras	...	...	Jan.
Returned to Calcutta	...	...	Mar.
The 33rd regiment placed on the Madras establishment	...	...	Sept.

1799.

Appointed to command the subsidiary force of the Nizam, the 33rd regiment being attached to it	Feb.
Advance of the army on Seringapatam; Colonel Wellesley moving on the right flank, attacked and harassed by the enemy	10 Mar.
Tippoo Sultan in position at Mallavelly; the attack and defeat of his right flank by the division under Colonel Wellesley and the cavalry under Major-General Floyd	27 Mar.
Arrival of the British army before Seringapatam	3 April
The army take up their ground before the west face of that fortress; first attack on the Sultaunpettah Tope, by the 33rd regiment and 2nd Bengal Native regiment, under Colonel Wellesley	5 April
Second attack with an increased force, the Scotch Brigade (94th regiment), two battalions of Sepoys, and four guns	6 April
Siege of Seringapatam, until	3 May
Assault and capture; Colonel Wellesley commanding the reserve in the trenches	4 May
Colonel Wellesley appointed Governor of Seringapatam	6 May
A commission, consisting of Lieut.-General Harris, Lieut.-Colonel Barry Close, Colonel the Hon. A. Wellesley, the Hon. H. Wellesley, and Lieut.-Colonel Kirkpatrick, appointed by the Governor-General for the settlement of the Mysore territories	4 June
Commission dissolved	8 July
Colonel Wellesley appointed to the command of Seringapatam and Mysore	9 July

1800.

Colonel Wellesley named to command an expedition against Batavia, in conjunction with Admiral Rainier, but declines the service, from the greater importance of his command in Mysore	May
The tranquillity of Mysore troubled by Dhoondiah Waugh, a Mahratta freebooter. Colonel Wellesley takes the field against him	July
Defeats him; death of Dhoondiah, and end of the warfare	10 Sept.
Recalled from Mysore to command a force assembling at Trincomalee	Oct.
Appointed to command this force, to be employed at Mauritius, or in the Red Sea, in the event of orders from Europe to that effect; or to be ready to act against any hostile attempt upon India	15 Nov.

1801.

A despatch, overland, received by the Governor-General, with orders, dated 6th October, 1800, to send 3000 men to Egypt	6 Feb.
The expedition being ready at Trincomalee, the Governor-General directed the whole force to proceed to the Red Sea; and appointed General Baird to command in chief, and Colonel Wellesley to be second in command	11 Feb.
In the meantime Colonel Wellesley, having received from the Governors of Bombay and Madras copies of the overland dispatch from Mr. Dundas, sailed from Trincomalee for Bombay in command of the troops	15 Feb.
Colonel Wellesley, on his way to Bombay, informed of the appointment of Major-General Baird to the chief command	21 Feb.
Prevented, by illness, from proceeding on the expedition to Egypt; Colonel Wellesley is ordered to resume his government of Mysore	28 April

1803.

Appointed to command a force assembled at Hurryhur to march into the Mahratta territory	27 Feb.
Advance from Hurryhur	9 Mar.
Arrival at Poonah	20 April
The Peshwah replaced on the musnud	13 May
Empowered to exercise the general direction and control of all the political and military affairs of the British Government in the territories of the Nizam, the Peshwah, and of the Mahratta States and Chiefs in the Deccan; similar authority being given to General Lake in Hindustan	26 June

The Mahratta war commenced	6 Aug.
Siege and capture of Ahmednuggur	11 Aug.
Siege and capture of Baroach	23 Aug.
Battle of Assaye	23 Sept.
Siege and capture of Asseerghur	21 Oct.
Battle of Argaum	29 Nov.
Siege and capture of Gawlighur	15 Dec.
Treaty of peace with the Rajah of Berar	17 Dec.
Treaty of peace with Dowlut Rao Scindiah	30 Dec.

1804.

Surprise of a body of predatory Mahrattas, who were routed and destroyed, after an extraordinary forced march, near Munkaiseer	6 Feb.
A sword of the value of 1000 <i>l.</i> voted to Major-General Wellesley by the British inhabitants of Calcutta	21 Feb.
A golden vase voted to Major-General Wellesley, by the officers of his division, afterwards changed to a service of plate, embossed with "Assaye"	26 Feb.
Visits Bombay	4 Mar.
<i>Fêtes</i> and address by the garrison and inhabitants	to 16 May
Returns to the army near Poonah	17 May
Resigns the military and political powers vested in him by the Governor-General	24 June
Left the army for Seringapatam	28 June
Address voted to Major-General Wellesley, on his return from the army, by the native inhabitants of Seringapatam	6 July
Called to Calcutta to assist in military deliberations	
Appointed a Knight Companion of the Bath	1 Sept.
The civil and military powers vested in him on the 26th of June, 1803, and resigned on the 24th of June, 1804, renewed by the Governor-General	9 Nov.
Returns to Seringapatam by Madras	30 Nov.

1805.

Resigns the political and military powers in the Deccan, and proposes to embark for Europe	24 Feb.
Addresses on quitting India:	
From the Officers of the division lately under his command	27 Feb.
Answer	8 Mar.
From the Officers of the 33rd regiment	28 Feb.
Answer	Mar.
From the native inhabitants of Seringapatam	4 Mar.
Answer	4 Mar.
Grand entertainment given to him at the Pantheon at Madras, by the civil and military Officers of the Presidency	5 Mar.
Appoints Colonel Wallace, Major Barclay, and Captain Bellingham to superintend the prize affairs of the army of the Deccan	6 Mar.
The thanks of the King and Parliament for his service in the command of the army of the Deccan, communicated in general orders by the Governor-General	8 Mar.
Embarks in his Majesty's ship <i>Trident</i> , for England	Mar.
Arrival in England	Sept.
Appointed to command a brigade in an expedition to Hanover, under Lord Cathcart	Nov.

1806.

Appointed Colonel of the 33rd Regt, <i>vice</i> Marquis Cornwallis, deceased	30 Jan.
On the return of the expedition from Hanover, appointed to command a brigade of infantry in the Sussex district	Feb.
Returned to serve in Parliament	

1807.

Appointed Secretary to Ireland (the Duke of Richmond being Lord-Lieutenant)	3 April
Sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council	8 April

Appointed to command in the army under Lord Cathcart, in the expedition against Copenhagen	July
fair at Klogø	29 Aug.
Appointed to negotiate the capitulation of Copenhagen	5 Sept.

1808.

Receives the thanks of Parliament for his conduct at Copenhagen, in his place in the House of Commons, and replies to the Speaker	1 Feb.
Returns to Ireland ... ..	...
Appointed to command an expedition assembled at Cork	July
The expedition sails for Corunna and Oporto	12 July
Finally lands at the mouth of the river Mondego, in Portugal	1 to 3 Aug.
Affair of Obidos	15 Aug.
Affair of Rolica	17 Aug.
Battle of Vimiero	21 Aug.
Superseded in the command of the army by Lieut-General Sir H. Burrard	21 Aug.
By the desire of Lieut-General Sir H. Dalrymple, the Commander of the Forces, he signs the armistice with Lieut-General Kellermann, which led to the convention of Cintra	22 Aug.
A piece of plate, commemorating the Battle of Vimiero, voted to Lieut-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, by the General and Field Officers who served at it	22 Aug.
Commands a division of the army under Sir H. Dalrymple	22 Aug.
Convention of Cintra	30 Aug.
Returns to England	4 Oct.
Court of Inquiry on the Convention of Cintra	17 Nov.
His evidence before it	22 Nov.
Returns to Ireland ... ..	...

1809.

Receives the thanks of Parliament for Vimiero, in his place in the House of Commons, and replies to the Speaker	27 Jan.
Appointed to command the army in Portugal	April
Resigns the office of Chief Secretary in Ireland	April
Arrives at Lisbon, and assumes the command	22 April
The Passage of the Douro, and Battle of Oporto	12 May
By a decree of the Prince Regent of Portugal, appointed Marshal-General of the Portuguese army	6 July
Battle of Talavera de la Reyna	27 and 28 July
Created a Peer, by the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera	26 Aug.
Meets Marquis Wellesley at Seville and Cadiz	2 Nov.

1810.

Thanks of Parliament voted for Talavera	1 Feb.
Pension of £2000 per annum voted to Lord Wellington and his two succeeding heirs male	16 Feb.
Appointed a member of the Regency in Portugal, in conjunction with Lord Stuart de Rothsay, then Mr. Stuart, his Majesty's Minister at Lisbon	Aug.
Battle at Busaco	27 Sept.
Takes up a position to cover Lisbon in the Lines, from Alhambra on the Tagus, to Torres Vedras and the sea	10 Oct.
Follows the retreat of the French army, under Marshal Massena, to Santarém	16 Nov.

1811.

Again follows the retreat of the French army to Condeixa, and from thence along the line of the Mondego, to Celorico, Sabugal Almeida, and Ciudad Rodrigo	5 Mar. to 10 April
Affairs with the French army on its retreat:—	
At Pombal	11 Mar.
At Redinha	12 Mar.
At Casal Nova	14 Mar.
At the Passage of the Ceira, at Fox d'Arouce	15 Mar.
At Sabugal	3 April

Thanks of Parliament for the liberation of Portugal	26 April
Battle of Fuentes d' Onoro	3 and 5 May
Fall of Almeida	11 May
Battle of Albuera	16 May
Siege of Badajoz raised	10 June
Concentration of the army on the Caya	19 June
Carries the army to the north	1 Aug.
Affair at El Bodon	25 Sept.
Affair at Aldea di Ponte	27 Sept.
License granted in the name of the King, by the Prince Regent, to accept the title of Conde do Vimiero, and the insignia of Knight Grand Cross of the Tower and Sword, from the Prince Regent of Portugal	26 Oct.
General Hill's surprise of General Girard, at Arroyo Molinos	28 Oct.

1812.

Storm of Fort Renand, near Ciudad Rodrigo	8 Jan.
Siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo	19 Jan.
Created by the Regency a Grandee of Spain, with the title of Duque de Ciudad Rodrigo	
Thanks of Parliament for Ciudad Rodrigo	10 Feb.
Advanced in the British Peerage by the title of Earl of Wellington	18 Feb.
Vote of Parliament of 2000 <i>l.</i> per annum, in addition to the title	21 Feb.
Siege and capture of Badajoz	6 April
Thanks of Parliament for Badajoz	27 April
Forts at Almaraz taken by General Hill	19 May
Siege and capture of the fortified convents at Salamanca	27 June
Battle of Salamanca	22 July
Charge of Cavalry at La Serna	23 July
The Order of the Golden Fleece conferred by the Regency of Spain	
Enters Madrid	12 Aug.
Appointed Generalissimo of the Spanish armies	
Advanced in the British Peerage by the title of Marquis of Wellington	18 Aug.
Advanced by the Regent of Portugal to the title of Marquez de Torres Vedras	
Marches towards Burgos	4 Sept.
Siege and failure of Burgos	22 Oct.
Retreat to the frontier of Portugal, to the	19 Nov.
Thanks of Parliament voted for Salamanca	3 Dec.
A grant of 100,000 <i>l.</i> from Parliament, to be laid out in the purchase of lands to that value, as a reward for his services, and to enable him to support the dignity of his peerage	7 Dec.
Advanced by the Regent of Portugal to the title of Duque da Victoria	18 Dec.
Visits Cadiz, where he is received by a deputation of the Cortes	24 Dec.

1813.

Appointed Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards	1 Jan.
Returns to Portugal by Lisbon, where he is received by the whole population	16 Jan.
<i>Fêtes</i> given by the Regency, and at San Carlos	
Letter on quitting the 38rd Regiment as Colonel	2 Feb.
Elected a Knight of the Garter	4 Mar.
Advance into Spain in two columns; the left column, under Lieut-General Sir T. Graham, by the north bank of the Douro; the right column to Salamanca	6 May
Quits Freneda for Salamanca	23 May
Affair near Salamanca	25 May
The Commander of the Forces proceeds to the left column, at Miranda de Duero	6 May
Affair of the Hussar brigade at Morales de Toro	2 June
Junction of the two columns at Toro, and advance of the army on Valladolid and Burgos	4 June
The Castle of Burgos blown up	12 June
The Ebro turned at San Martin and Rocamundo	14 June
Affair at San Millan	18 June
Battle of Vittoria	21 June

Promoted to Field Marshal. (<i>Gazette</i> , 3rd July)	21 June
Pursuit of the French army to France by Pamplona, and the passes of Roncesvalles and Maya in the Pyrenees; and by Tolosa, San Sebastian, and Irun	8 July
Thanks of Parliament for Vittoria	17 July
Siege of San Sebastian	22 July
The Regency of Spain, on the proposition of the Cortes, offer to bestow on the Duque de Ciudad Rodrigo the estate of the Soto de Roma in Granada, "in the name of the Spanish nation, in testimony of its sincere gratitude"	25 July
First assault and failure at San Sebastian	24 to 27 July
Advance of the French army under Marshal Soult, by Maya and Roncesvalles; the right and centre divisions of the army concentrating near Pamplona	28 July
Battle of Sorauren	30 July
Retreat of the French army into France	1 Aug.
Affair at the Puerto de Echalar	2 Aug.
Re-occupation of the positions on the Pyrenees by the Allied Armies	31 Aug.
Second assault and fall of San Sebastian	31 Aug.
Affairs on the Bidasoa and San Marcell	8 Sept.
Castle of San Sebastian capitulated	7 Oct.
Passage of the Bidasoa, and entrance into France	8 Oct.
Thanks of Parliament for San Sebastian, and the operations subsequent to Vittoria	31 Oct.
Surrender of Pamplona	10 Nov.
The whole of the army descend into France; passage and battle of the Nivelle	9 Dec.
Passage of the Nive	10 to 18 Dec.
Marshal Soult attacks the left and right of the British army, and is successively defeated	

1814.

Leaves two divisions to blockade Bayonne, and follows Marshal Soult with the remainder of the army	Feb.
Affair at Hellette	14 Feb.
Battle of Orthez	27 Feb.
Passage of the Adour at St. Sever	1 Mar.
Affair at Aire	2 Mar.
The permission of the Prince Regent granted to the Marquis of Wellington to accept and wear the insignia of the following Orders:	
Grand Cross of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Teresa.	
" the Imperial Russian Military Order of St. George.	
" the Royal Prussian Military Order of the Black Eagle.	
" the Royal Swedish Military Order of the Sword. ...	4 Mar.
Detaches two divisions to Bordeaux	8 Mar.
Affair at Tarbes	20 Mar.
Thanks of the Prince Regent and the Parliament for Orthez	24 Mar.
Passage of the Garonne	4 April
Battle of Toulouse	10 April
Advanced in the British Peerage by the titles of Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington	3 May
Visits Paris	4 May
Visits Madrid. King Ferdinand confirms all the honours and rewards conferred upon him in his Majesty's name by the Regency and the Cortes	24 May
A grant of 400,000 <i>l.</i> voted by Parliament, in addition to the former grants	June
Arrives in England	23 June
Proceeds to pay his respects to the Prince Regent, then at Portsmouth with the Allied Monarchs	24 June
His reception in the House of Peers on taking his seat as Baron, Viscount, Earl, Marquis, and Duke	28 June
Returns thanks at the bar of the House of Commons, and is addressed by the Speaker	30 June
Appointed Ambassador to the Court of France	5 July
Banquet given by the Corporation of London	9 July

Heraldic honours bestowed	...	...	...	...	...	...	25 Aug.
Assists at the Congress at Vienna	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 Nov.

1815.

On the arrival of Bonaparte in France, appointed Commander of the British Forces on the Continent of Europe, and from Vienna joins the army at Bruxelles	...	...	...	...	...	...	11 April
Puts himself in communication with Prince Blücher, in command of the Prussian army on the Meuse	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 May
Moves the allied army towards Nivelles, on the French army, under Bonaparte, crossing the frontier at Charleroi	...	...	...	...	...	...	15 June
Battle of Quatre Bras	...	...	...	...	...	...	16 June
Retires to a position to cover Bruxelles, on the border of the Forest of Soignies	...	...	...	...	...	...	17 June
Battle of Waterloo	...	...	...	...	...	...	18 June
Created Prince of Waterloo by the King of the Netherlands	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Thanks of the Prince Regent and Parliament for Waterloo	...	...	...	...	...	...	22 June
Pursuit of the fugitive remains of the French army to Paris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Surrender of Cambray	...	...	...	...	...	...	25 June
" of Peronne	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Paris capitulated	...	...	...	...	...	...	8 July
By his interference, prevents the column in the Place Vendôme and the Bridge of Jena being destroyed	...	...	...	...	...	...	6 July
A grant of 200,000 <i>l.</i> voted by Parliament, in addition to the former grants	...	...	...	...	...	...	July
Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies of Occupation in France	...	...	...	...	...	...	22 Oct.

1818.

Assists at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle	...	...	...	...	...	...	Oct.
Appointed Field-Marshal in the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Armies.	...	...	...	...	...	...	Oct.
The evacuation of France by the Allied Armies	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 Nov.
Appointed Master-General of the Ordnance	26 Dec.

1819.

Appointed Governor of Plymouth	9 Dec.
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1820.

Appointed Colonel in Chief of the Rifle Brigade	19 Feb.
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1821.

Attends George IV., King of England, to the Field of Waterloo	1 Oct.
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1822.

Statue of Achilles inscribed to the Duke, in Hyde Park	18 June
Assists at the Congress of Verona	22 Oct.

1826.

Proceeds on an especial embassy to St. Petersburg	...	...	...	...	...	...	Feb.
Removes from the Government of Plymouth to be Constable of the Tower of London	...	...	...	...	...	...	29 Dec.

1827.

Appointed Colonel of the Grenadier Guards	...	...	...	...	...	...	22 Jan.
Appointed Commander-in-Chief	...	...	...	...	...	...	22 Jan.
Resigns	...	...	...	...	...	...	30 April
Re-appointed	...	...	...	...	...	...	27 Aug.

1828.

The King having called upon him to serve in the office of First Lord of the Treasury, he resigns the command of the army	15 Feb.
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1829.

Appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports	20 Jan
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160 LIFE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

1830.					
Resigns the office of First Lord of the Treasury	Oct.
1834.					
Elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford	...	...	...	...	Jan.
Intrusted by the King with the whole charge of the Government and the seals of the three Secretaries of State	...	...	...	...	Nov.
Continues Secretary of Foreign Affairs	...	...	...	...	Dec.
1835.					
Resigns	...	...	...	...	April
Receives Queen Adelaide, as Chancellor of the University of Oxford	...	...	...	...	19 Oct.
1837.					
Received with great cordiality by the people at the coronation of Queen Victoria	...	...	...	...	28 June.
Presides at a meeting to erect a monument to Lord Nelson	...	...	...	...	1 Aug.
1839.					
Grand entertainment given to the Duke at Dover	...	...	...	...	30 Aug.
1841.					
Peel Ministry: the Duke in the Cabinet, without office	...	...	...	...	Sept.
1842					
Her Majesty visits the Duke at Walmer Castle	...	...	...	...
The Duke appointed Commander of the Forces	...	...	...	...	Dec.
1844.					
Equestrian statue of the Duke inaugurated at Glasgow	...	...	...	...	Oct.
Equestrian statue of the Duke, Royal Exchange, inaugurated	...	...	...	...	18 June
1845.					
Her Majesty visits the Duke at Strathfieldsaye	...	...	...	...	20 June
First stone of the Waterloo barracks, in the Tower, laid by the Duke	...	...	...	...	14 June
1846.					
Peel Ministry resigns: the Duke retires from the Cabinet	...	...	...	...	6 July
Colossal equestrian statue of the Duke erected upon the arch, Green Park	...	...	...	...	30 Sept.
1848.					
Publication of the Duke's letter to Sir John Burgoyne, on the national defences	...	...	...	...	Jan.
The Duke directs great preparations to prevent a Chartist outbreak	...	...	...	...	Mar.
Statue of the Duke erected in the Tower	...	...	...	...	Oct.
1850.					
he Duke sponsor at the baptism of the infant Prince Arthur	...	...	...	...	22 June
1852.					
Equestrian Statue of the Duke at Edinburgh inaugurated	18 June
Death at Walmer Castle	14 Sept.

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